


“What Does Babu Say?”, a Pinch of Artistic Approach to News Reporting in *The Tibet Mirror* (1949-1963)

Natalia Moskaleva
(Saint Petersburg State University)

he *Tibet Mirror*,¹ as one of the earliest Tibetan periodicals and, as a matter of fact, the first one to be issued by an editor of Tibetan origin, used to play a noteworthy role in the dissemination of news and various practical information in the Tibetan language all the way from its beginning in 1925 up to the early 1960s. Born in the Himalayan mountainous region of India, but belonging to the Tibetan descent² and maintaining his lifelong interest in Tibet, Dorje Tharchin Babu,³ the chief editor of *The Tibet Mirror*, grew up into a rather peculiar and ambitious person of the time who among other things managed to launch his own newspaper. Although *The Tibet Mirror* was issued in Kalimpong, India, the significance of Tharchin's work as a pioneer of Tibetan journalism and a key mastermind of his newspaper could be estimated through a question “What does Babu say?” (*bha bug ga re zer gyi!*) common in Tibet in the first half of the 20th century.⁴

A brief browsing through *The Tibet Mirror* issues gives an impression that the newspaper editor most certainly was not trying to keep silent about his political opinion, which was a markedly anti-

¹ Also known as *Yul phyogs so so'i gсар 'gyur me long* in Tibetan or *Melong* for short. Further in the paper references to the publications from *The Tibet Mirror* will be made using the *Melong* name. E.g.: *Melong* Vol.26 No.1, June 1959. P.2.

² Prior to 1650 upper Kinnaur district of the present-day Himachal Pradesh, where Dorje Tharchin was born, used to be part of Western Tibet and for hundreds of years primarily Buddhist Tibetans inhabited this territory. Fader H. L. Called from Obscurity: the Life and Times of a True Son of Tibet Gergan Dorje Tharchin. Vol. I. Kalimpong: Tibet Mirror Press, 2002. P.7; Sawerthal A. The Melong. An Example of the Formation of a Tibetan Language Press. M.Phil. Thesis, University of Vienna, 2011. P.68.

³ *rdo rje mthar phyin sba bu*. “Babu” is a South Asian title used to signify respect towards men.

⁴ Erhard F. X. Tibetan Mass Media: A Preliminary Survey of Tibetan Language Newspapers // *The Illuminating Mirror. Contributions to Tibetan Studies*. Vol.12. Ed. Czaja O. and Hazod G. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 2015. P.160.

communist stance. At first glance, Dorje Tharchin’s intolerance towards Chinese communists can strike an eye in the form of numerous political cartoons.⁵ While a thorough examination of *The Tibet Mirror* materials introduces a reader to the whole world of Tharchin’s artistic images and allusions all fit through his anti-communist or, at times, rather pro-Tibetan perception sieve. Ever since the late 1940s, Dorje Tharchin used *The Tibet Mirror* to warn his readers against “the imminent danger of Chinese invasion” approaching Tibet and to conduct information attacks against his Chinese communist adversaries.⁶ *The Tibet Mirror* articles on China and Tibet of that period are abundant with artistic expressions, hyperboles, harsh metaphors and similes.

Present paper aims to discuss Dorje Tharchin’s elaborate ways of expressing news on Tibet and China and his personal political views in *The Tibet Mirror* in a form of specific political discourse. The research is based on the analysis of a selection of discourse-charged, figurative examples from *The Tibet Mirror* issues dated 1949-1963. This particular time period was chosen owing to the official establishment of the People’s Republic of China (PRC) on October 1, 1949 and 1963 being the year, when the last issue of *The Tibet Mirror* was published.

1. A Little More about Babu

Before going into the analysis of *The Tibet Mirror* materials some important details of Dorje Tharchin’s biography should be underlined first.

Dorje Tharchin’s personal identity is an interesting topic itself.⁷ What were his life incentives in reality and what was actually on his mind will, probably, stay a big mystery. Perhaps, in terms of cultural background Tharchin could be called a ‘borderliner’.⁸ He resembled

⁵ For more information on political cartoons in *The Tibet Mirror* see Engelhardt I. Tharchin’s One Man War with Mao. // *Studies on the History and Literature of Tibet and the Himalaya*. Ed. Vitali R. Katmandu: Vajra Books, 2012. P.183-212.

⁶ Engelhardt I. Tharchin’s One Man War with Mao. P.186.

⁷ For a full biography of Dorje Tharchin see Fader H. L. *Called from Obscurity: the Life and Times of a True Son of Tibet Gergan Dorje Tharchin*. Vol. I. Kalimpong: Tibet Mirror Press, 2002; Vol. II. Kalimpong: Tibet Mirror Press, 2004; Vol. III. Kalimpong: Tibet Mirror Press, 2009.

⁸ The term ‘borderliner’ is commonly used in psychiatry referring to people with the borderline personality disorder, which is characterized by unstable relationships, emotions and sense of self. However, in case of present paper a ‘borderliner’ is the person living on the borderline in terms of geography, culture and ethnic identity.

neither a bulk of traditionally thinking Tibetans of his time nor an Indian commoner. Despite the fact that Tharchin was born in India, at a very young age converted to Christianity and brought up with the help of missionaries, he identified himself as Tibetan⁹ and built his whole career around his Tibetan origin. Tharchin's religious views also differed from the absolute majority of his Tibetan and Indian contemporaries. Although Tharchin knew and published quite a bit about Buddhism, he was remembered as a "profoundly sophisticated Christian".¹⁰ Tharchin even started *The Tibet Mirror* with the missionaries' help, but at the same time the content of his newspaper and apparently the substantial number of publications on Buddhism¹¹ there became a trigger for Tharchin's serious arguments with the superiors in charge of the mission. *The Tibet Mirror* was not seen proselytizing enough and after a while Tharchin, having resigned from his post in the mission, continued printing the newspaper on his own.¹²

While Tharchin's heart was known to be "with Tibet",¹³ he was claimed to be a loyal British and later Indian subject.¹⁴ Tharchin did not seem like being out of place in India. He was a solid figure with his own interests and his own ways and means, knowing many people and even having some connections in the government. It is said that over time Tharchin established himself as "one of the leading men of Kalimpong".¹⁵ In fact, not only in Kalimpong – Tharchin and

⁹ For example, see *Melong* Vol.20 No.7, October 1, 1952. P.8. Tharchin writes: "We, the tsampa eaters, chuba wearers, dice players, raw and dried meat eaters, followers of Tibetan Buddhism, Tibetan language speakers, the people from Ngari Korsum, U-Tsang Ruzhi, Dokham Gangdrug, the thirteen trikors of Tibet, we must make the effort to end the [Chinese] occupation. ... For this everyone must put in effort. This request is made by the publisher". The English translation is borrowed from McGranahan C. *Arrested Histories: Between Empire and Exile in 20th Century Tibet*. PhD Thesis. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan, 2001. P.248.

¹⁰ Norbu D. Introduction. // Fader H.L. *Called from Obscurity: the Life and Times of a True Son of Tibet Gergan Dorje Tharchin*. Vol. I. P.XI.

¹¹ For more information on the Christian vs. Buddhist content in *The Tibet Mirror* see Engelhardt I. *Tharchin's Tibet Mirror: A Christian Oriented Newspaper? // Historical and Philological Studies of China's Western Regions*. No.6. Beijing: Science Press, 2013. P.129-155.

¹² Engelhardt I. *Tharchin's Tibet Mirror: A Christian Oriented Newspaper?* P.148-151.

¹³ Norbu D. *Pioneer and Patriot*. An Extract from an Interview with Rev. G. Tharchin. // *Lungta*, No. 11 (Winter 1998). P.12.

¹⁴ Sawerthal A. P.74.

¹⁵ Berry S. *Monks, Spies, and Soldiers of Fortune. The Japanese in Tibet*. London: Athlone Press, 1995. P.265. Op. cit. Sawerthal A. P.73.

his newspaper were relatively well known among the Tibetans in general. Tharchin succeeded in building “a strong connection to the Tibetan community” and “was trusted by them”.¹⁶ He had a certain authority among Tibetans: up to the point when there were some of his Tibetan contemporaries claiming that the little they knew about Westerners, they learned from Tharchin.¹⁷

Prior to 1959, Tibetans usually travelled to India via the Nathu La pass that was taking them straight to Kalimpong.¹⁸ Upon arrival their first stop was Tharchin’s office, “the information centre for the Tibetan-speaking world”.¹⁹ Tharchin’s premises served as gathering spots for many Tibetans who came to discuss politics, world news and events in Tibet.²⁰ According to H. Fader, Tharchin “became a magnet for those Tibetans who wished to speak privately what was there on their mind”.²¹ Later on Kalimpong also stood on the way of Tibetans going into exile from China, thus, placing Tharchin right in the middle of the information hub, where he was able to get first-hand news updates from the remote Tibetan Plateau.

Tharchin was described as “a respected and cosmopolitan figure”.²² The state of Tharchin’s cosmopolitanism could be possibly judged based on his Christian moral standing and his long life in the transculturally embracing Kalimpong. However, as far as Tharchin’s political life is concerned, he definitely was not trying to stay away from politics and, despite his Indian citizenship, often expressed in a way nationalist feelings about Tibet. Moreover, at some point Tharchin’s house and office in Kalimpong were even turned into a meeting place of a few young Tibetan nationalistic reformers.²³

Tharchin was a “one-man newspaper”, who worked as a publisher, an editor and a leading journalist at the same time.²⁴ Issuing of *The Tibet Mirror* was never really profitable. The newspaper had a very limited and irregular external support, but Tharchin was strongly determined to continue his work. The newspaper was virtually his lifelong fruit of labour and it, probably, acquired all the more bigger meaning for Tharchin when he started using *The Tibet Mirror* as a tool of open anti-communist propaganda. On the pages of his newspaper

¹⁶ McGranahan C. P.244.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ *Ibid.* P.243.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ *Ibid.* P.197-198.

²¹ Fader H. L. Vol. III. P.340.

²² McGranahan C. P.244.

²³ Fader H. L. Vol. III. P.111.

²⁴ McGranahan C. P.250.

Tharchin spoke up for the independence of Tibet and tried to cheer up the patriotic spirit of his Tibetan contemporaries.

Alongside with being an information hub of Tibetan news, Kalimpong was known as "a den of spies".²⁵ Last but surely not least what must be taken into consideration is that Tharchin was one of them. The editor of *The Tibet Mirror* served as a British Intelligence Officer and subsequently continued his services for the Indian government.²⁶ *The Tibet Mirror* and Tharchin's printing office provided a perfect cover for his intelligence activities.²⁷ Tharchin travelled to Lhasa several times, with the trip in 1940 being a "breakthrough" in his networking.²⁸ Over the years Tharchin managed to set up a net of personal informants reporting to him on whatever interesting piece of information or intelligence they got.²⁹ Having heard something relevant, Tharchin passed on the acquired information and reports on the people who stayed in his house to the intelligence services.³⁰ Furthermore, there is evidence found that prior to publishing some articles in *The Tibet Mirror* Tharchin consulted with the Political Officer of Sikkim, Bhutan and Tibet in order to see if he could publish certain materials, for example, supporting his claim of the independence of Tibet.³¹

Thus, one could see that Tharchin's figure in Kalimpong was rather momentous and of interest for Tibetans, British and Indians alike, but it was also controversial. Tharchin must have been obviously influenced by the British government in India, therefore, his initial intention to issue his own newspaper and the consequent relentless anti-communist critique in the form of numerous materials of completely different genres in *The Tibet Mirror* look ambiguous. On the one hand, Tharchin could have been, indeed, sincerely patriotic about his Tibetan origin and feeling concerned about Tibetans whose traditional way of life was subjected to substantial changes under the PRC's reform program. On the other hand, Tharchin's political views might have been affected or partially shaped by the British anti-communist propaganda. Besides, it is not clear to which extent British and Indian officials could have censored Tharchin's publications, but

²⁵ *Ibid.* P.189.

²⁶ Sawerthal A. P.73.

²⁷ Fader H. L. Vol. III. P.347.

²⁸ Sawerthal A. P.72.

²⁹ Fader H. L. Vol. III. P.343.

³⁰ Sawerthal A. P.74.

³¹ Tharchin's personal letters. // Sikkim, Political Officer, 1947-1963; Tharchin Collection; series #2, box #3, folder #5; C.V. Starr East Asian Library, Columbia University.

this is something else that is to be kept in mind while reading *The Tibet Mirror*. At the same time, the very fact that Tharchin had an opportunity to get first-hand news from Tibet from his live informants via mail or in person gives a big credit to *The Tibet Mirror*, hence, making it a valuable alternative source of information on the history of Tibet under the newly established communist power there.

2. *Anti-Chinese? Anti-communist? Pro-Tibetan?*
Discourse as Babu’s Way to Stand Up

What was Dorje Tharchin’s message in *The Tibet Mirror*? Tharchin is reasonably called “one of the strongest voices for Tibet in the face of the Chinese communist invasion”.³² In his publications Tharchin stressed the cultural difference of Chinese and Tibetans, warned Tibetans against the ‘communist threat’, suggested rethinking of Tibetan history, called for Tibet’s independence and urged Tibetans to stand up for it.

The Tibet Mirror’s anti-communist bias certainly could not have avoided attracting the attention of the Chinese communist authorities. According to Tharchin, Chinese communists tried to approach him suggesting financial support to *The Tibet Mirror* in exchange for shifting the focus of his newspaper to the progress made by the Chinese in Tibet.³³ One could figure that Tharchin, unsurprisingly, declined their offer. Later the Chinese communist government banned *The Tibet Mirror’s* distribution on its territory and issued a protest note to the Indian government against the editor’s reactionary mood and propaganda publications hostile to the Chinese government and Chinese people, however, somehow after getting only a warning from the Indian government Tharchin was able to carry on the anti-communist rhetoric in his newspaper.³⁴

This being said, Tharchin rejected any accusations of being anti-Chinese. *The Tibet Mirror’s* editor admitted expressing anti-communist ideas, but claimed cherishing no hatred towards the Chinese in general. Besides, as far as Tharchin’s publications are concerned, in the opposition the Chinese Communist Party vs. the Kuomintang Party he was into the pro-Kuomintang side and even called

³² McGranahan C. P.250.

³³ Norbu D. Pioneer and Patriot. An Extract from an Interview with Rev. G. Tharchin. P.12.

³⁴ Engelhardt I. Tharchin’s One Man War with Mao. P.203-204; Tharchin’s personal letters from the Tharchin Collection at Columbia University.

the Kuomintang government the “true” or “real” Chinese government (*rgya nag gi gzhung ngo ma*).³⁵ In *The Tibet Mirror* issue Vol.21 No.5 dated August 1953 Tharchin explains his position in the following way:

I do not dislike Chinese people. I like Chinese people a lot. Whatever is said, earlier for many thousands years throughout the world they were led by intelligence, braveness, happiness, prosperity and progress with great faith and respect to the pure religion. Besides, [Chinese] teachers and students, parents, sons and grandsons, friends and [their] wives led by the esteemed emperor and [his] ministers were genuinely well skilled in honouring their serving position. ... Whatever world situation happened I did not spoil [it] by exaggeration and had to publish only what was pertaining to truth. There is no need to write about the disliking of the Chinese in the news. For what reason? Chinese people and our ancestors were not such enemies because of the killings. If only for the purpose of writing that since the Chinese destroyed and discarded their own honourable ancestors, emperor's old traditions and the fine religious and secular system, for 40 years their minds and hearts followed after and were handed over to the flourishing atheist communist system, [now] the fine ancient religious and secular customs symbolizing the peace in the world are completely gone. Apart from disliking the communist followers, I absolutely do not dislike Chinese people. Newspapers of the whole world, not to mention the recent newspapers from Formosa, do not agree on the situation. But, as you all know well, even within the Chinese people in the same country and of the same nationality many hundreds of million people deeply dislike [having] their hearts rot in the labour system of the evil communist ideology. ... Comparing to the present oppression by the communist followers even here in Tibet, the true Chinese government never pressed down Tibet with such oppression. Even if [it] needed to press down [Tibet], did not do [so]. Therefore, I only like Chinese people and do not dislike them. Nevertheless, I always dislike any communist followers. I will be praying that soon all Chinese people will achieve peace and happiness by obtaining the real liberation from the communist oppression shortly.

*nga rang rgya mi la mi dga' ba med/nga rang rgya mi la ha cang dga' po
yod/ gang la zer na/ khong tsho ni mi lo stong phrag du ma'i sngon nas
'dzam gling yongs su shes rig dpa' stobs bde skyid mnga' thang yar rgyas
kyis mtshon dam pa'i chos lugs la dad gus che ba ma zad bkur 'os gong*

³⁵ For example, see *Melong* Vol.26 No.1, June 1959. P.Suppl.2 or *Melong* Vol.21 No.5, August 1953. P.7.

*ma dang blon pos mtshon dge rgan dge phrug /pha ma bu tsha grogs bza' zla bcas par sri zhu'i go bab kyi bsti stangs la mkhas pa ya rabs gong ma'i khrims srol blang dor la shin tu nas brtsis 'gangs che bas mdor na 'dzam gling nang du ya rabs dam pa'i dpe bzang ston mkhan zhig red/ ... spyir gsar 'gyur zhes pa 'di'i nang 'dzam gling gnas lugs gang grub sgro bskur gyis mi bslad par bden pa'i rjes 'brel kho nar bkod dgos pa yin/ ngos nas gsar 'gyur nang rgya mi la mi dga' ba'i gnas lugs bris dgos don med/ ci phyir zhe nal/ rgya mi dang nga'i pha mes brgyud pai rgyu srog 'phrogs skor gyi dgra bo lta bu ni ma yin/ 'on kyang rgya mis rang gi pha mes ya rabs gong ma'i sngar srol lam lugs bzang po'i chos srid rnams bshigs 'dor gyis lo 40 nang dar ba'i chos min dmar po'i las lugs kyi rjes sub lo snying 'brang gtad kyis 'dzam gling yongs la zhi bde mtshon gna' srol chos srid bzang po gtad nas med pa brtsam pa'i phyir nal/ dmar lugs brgyud 'dzin rnams la mi dga' ba las rgya mi la mi dga' ni nam yang med/ deng skabs por mo sa'i gsar shog par zhogs 'dzam gling yongs kyi gsar 'gyur nang lugs der mi mos lags pa byed par mi tshad/ yul gcig rigs gcig gi rgya mi nang khul du'ang mi grangs dung phyur mang pos lta ngan dmar po'i las lugs la snying rul gting nas mi dga' ba ji yod mkhyen gsal ltar red/ ... da lta bod 'dir yang dmar lugs rjes 'brang pas btsan dbang du btang ba las/ rgya gzhung ngo mas bod la nam yang 'di lta'i btsan dbang du gnod yod pa ma red/ gnod dgos kyang yod pa ma red/ der ba rten nga rang rgya mi la dga' b alas/ mi dga' ba med de 'on kyang/ dmar lugs brgyud 'dzin ji 'dra'ng rung der ni nam yang mi dga'/ ring min rgya mi tshang ma dmar lugs btsan dbang 'og nas bcing bkrol dngos thob kyis zhi bde myur du thob pa'i don du smon 'dun zhu gi yod/.*³⁶

Tharchin tried to provide a good reason to believe that he, indeed, did not dislike the Chinese and his enmity focused solely on Chinese communists. As a proof, in the beginning of the above-mentioned article Tharchin uses the honorific form of the Tibetan word “they” (*khong tsho*) referring to the Chinese. Besides, Tharchin emphasizes that earlier Chinese people were “led by intelligence, braveness, happiness, prosperity and progress with great faith and respect to the pure religion” (*shes rig dpa' stobs bde skyid mnga' thang yar rgyas kyis mtshon dam pa'i chos lugs la dad gus che ba*). However, everything changed.

Political discourse often builds on the virtual opposition of Self and Other or ‘us’ vs. ‘them’ and this short example from *The Tibet Mirror* provides a good example of ‘their’ description. Who are these Others and what is wrong with ‘them’? ‘They’ are the Chinese communists, who “destroyed” their own ancestors, emperor’s old traditions and the fine religious and secular system (*rgya mis rang gi pha mes ya rabs gong ma'i sngar srol lam lugs bzang po'i chos srid rnams bshigs*

³⁶ *Melong* Vol.21 No.5. August 1953. P.7.

'dor). They gave "their minds and hearts" to communism (*dmar po'i las lugs kyi rjes su blo snying 'brang gtad*). "Their hearts rot in the labour system of the evil communist ideology" (*lta ngan dmar po'i las lugs la snying rul gting*). How do they look? Do 'they' not seem completely alien to 'us', i.e. the religious and traditional Tibetans? Not only that, actually. Because of 'them' "the fine ancient religious and secular customs symbolizing the peace in the world are completely gone" (*'dzam gling yongs la zhi bde mtshon gna' srol chos srid bzang po gtan nas med*). Hence, do not these Others appear to sound dangerous to the whole peaceful and righteous world?

Talking about the discourse itself, *The Tibet Mirror* did not aim at a type of proficient discourse which we would think of now if we use a term 'discourse'. In *The Tibet Mirror* those were merely elements of the political discourse or rather Tharchin's passionate attempts to raise the question of Tibet's independence on the pages of his periodical. Therefore, it is not so easy to use the modern discourse theory for analysis of *The Tibet Mirror's* publications, but still it is worth doing an overall review of the particularly vibrant 'genre' constituents of Tharchin's discourse and it is possible to do a basic linguistic analysis of the articles, for the purpose of which P. Chilton's³⁷ and some Russian authors' (e.g. M. Brandes,³⁸ V. Chernyavskaya and E. Molodichenko³⁹) discourse analysis methodology is going to be employed.

3. *Awakening the Imagination: Babu's Linguistic Choices for Delivering the Message*

Setting off 'them' against 'us' in *The Tibet Mirror* is peculiar for the artistic or creative way Tharchin did it in terms of figurative language, innovative news 'genres' and specific discourse strategies. A lot of Tharchin's articles that could be classified discourse-charged are abundant with epithets, similes, metaphors, allusions and other figures of speech. All these means, however, could have been a conscious choice of the editor or it might as well have been a matter of Tharchin's personal charisma and his elaborate way of expressing

³⁷ Chilton P. *Analysing Political Discourse: Theory and Practice*. London and New York: Routledge, 2004.

³⁸ Brandes M.P. *Text Stylistics. Theoretical Course: Textbook*. Moscow: Progress-Tradition and Infra-M, 2004.

³⁹ Chernyavskaya V. E., Molodichenko E. N. *History in Political Discourse: Linguistic Construction of Us and Them*. Moscow: Lenand, 2014.

himself. Given that some of the materials in *The Tibet Mirror* must have been copied after a source of information, most likely an Indian or a British newspaper, they still had been translated and ‘enriched’ by Tharchin himself. Present paper will attempt to focus on the materials appearing to belong to Tharchin’s own style of writing. The analysis will start with some of the examples of Tharchin’s figurative way of rendering information on Tibet and communist China in terms of language and then will continue with some other interesting findings in terms of so to say editor’s ‘genres’.

Browsing through *The Tibet Mirror* materials on Tibet or China, one can get an impression that Tharchin was certainly fond of rather poetical news descriptions and frequently made use of epithets. In his newspaper Tharchin reports on the “powerful uprisings that were voluntarily started by the brave khampas⁴⁰ in Tibet” (*bod du khams rigs dpa’ ngar rnams kyis rgya dmar la rang rang dang len gyis ngo rgol shugs chen byed pa de dag*),⁴¹ Chinese communists doing “terrifying bad deeds the retribution for which will be high” (*mi bzod pa’i bya ngan ‘tshab che brjod kyis mi lang ba*)⁴² and using “evil strategy” (*byus ngan*) against khampas that caused “deaths of a countless number of people” because of the “violent oppression” (*mi dmangs grangs med la mnar gcod drag pos srog skyon du btang*).⁴³ *The Tibet Mirror* reads the reports on the “endless torturing” of Tibetans by the Chinese with “harsh laws” (*rgya mis btsan khrims drag pos mnar gcod mi bzad pa*),⁴⁴ Chinese communists publishing “unpleasant for ears false news” (*rna bar mi ‘gro ba’i gsar ‘gyur brdzun ma*) about the Dalai Lama,⁴⁵ the “tough fighting” (*‘thab ‘zing shugs chen*) between the Chinese communists and the Tibetan army in Lhasa in 1959,⁴⁶ the exposing of the monastic community of three main Tibetan monasteries⁴⁷ to “unthinkable tortures under arrest” (*do dam thog mnar gcod brjod kyis mi lang ba btang*)⁴⁸ and Tibetans uttering “powerful prayers” (*smon lam btsan po*)⁴⁹ in order to be saved from Chinese communists.

Similes constitute another quite popular essential of Tharchin’s ar-

⁴⁰ *khams pa*. Khampa are the native people of Kham, the eastern Tibetan region.

⁴¹ *Melong* Vol.25 No.9-10, February-March 1959. P.6.

⁴² *Ibid.* P.12.

⁴³ *Melong* Vol.26 No.1, June 1959. P.Suppl.1.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* P.6-7.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* P.4-5.

⁴⁶ *Melong* Vol.25 No.11, April 1959. P.5.

⁴⁷ The three great Gelug monasteries, also known as the three great monastic seats of Tibet: Drepung (*‘bras spungs*), Sera (*se ra*) and Ganden (*dga’ ldan*).

⁴⁸ *Melong* Vol.26 No.1, June 1959. P.Suppl.1.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.* P.4-5.

ticles on Tibet and China. For example, in *The Tibet Mirror* Vol. 25 No.9-10 dated February-March 1959 Tharchin shares his hope that “clever and brave [Tibetans] will soon be able to gain a clean and fine victory such as a sun without clouds” (*mgo grung khog mdzangs kyis ring min nyi ma sprin bral ltar bkra shis bde legs kyis rgyal kha gtsang bzhes*),⁵⁰ thus creating a more vivid image of the Tibetan guerrilla movement. Pages of *The Tibet Mirror* featured stories about uprisings of Tibetan khampas that were spreading everywhere “as a summer flood” (*dbyar gyi chu log ltar rgya khyab tu bsnon bzhin pa red*),⁵¹ the Tibetan guerrilla soldiers who “abandoned their fields, property, families, friends, food and homes as if they casted a stone of the Changthang plateau” (*sa zhing rgyu nor pha ma bu phrug grogs za thang sogs byang thang gi sa rdo ltar dor*) and “like wild animals relied on the mountains and forests as a place of residence” (*gcan gzan ri dwags bzhin du sdod gnas ri brag nags tshal sogs la brten*),⁵² who ensnared the Chinese communist troops “as a cat in a trap” (*byi la rgyar btsud pa ltar*)⁵³ and surrounded them “as a wall” or literally “as the iron mountains” (*lcags ri ltar mtha' bskor*).⁵⁴

Apart from that, Tharchin wrote that news from Tibet brought him various thoughts “similar to a photograph which makes one’s mind terrified” (*sems nang 'jigs sngangs can gyi par dang dra ba'i 'char sgo sna tshogs thon*),⁵⁵ that the Chinese government fired bombs “as hail from the sky” (*mkha' nas ser ba ltar 'phangs*)⁵⁶ or that the Chinese communist soldiers were gathering in the vicinity of Lhasa “as piling pills” (*rgya dmar gyi dmag rnam ril bu spungs pa ltar tshogs*).⁵⁷ As for the Dalai Lama, he “rode away from the stern wall [iron mountains] of oppression of the Chinese Communist Party” (*rgya dmar gung phran gyi btsan dbang lcags ri btsan po'i nang nas 'chings thon*),⁵⁸ while the situation in the Tashi Lhunpo monastery because of the Chinese communists after being comfortable at first was getting more and more “terrible” or, literally, “as if a hat made from the wet skin dries up” (*bkras lhun du'ang rgya dmar gyi ko rlon zha mo phal cher skam bzhin*).⁵⁹

⁵⁰ *Melong* Vol.25 No.9-10, February-March 1959. P.12.

⁵¹ *Ibid.* P.6.

⁵² *Ibid.* P.12.

⁵³ *Ibid.* P.6.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.* P.12.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.* P.6.

⁵⁶ *Melong* Vol.18 No.1, October 1, 1949. P.3.

⁵⁷ *Melong* Vol.25 No.9-10, February-March 1959. P.5 and P.7.

⁵⁸ *Melong* Vol.25 No.11, April 1959. P.1.

⁵⁹ *Melong* Vol.26 No.1, June 1959. P.Suppl.4.

British linguist P. Chilton contends that “meaning is not always expressed in explicit form, nor indeed it is always possible to do so”.⁶⁰ Figures of speech could be instrumental for constructing emphatic meanings, designing an effect of persuasion and inducing an emotional response.⁶¹ One must admit that figurative descriptions comparing to strictly factual reports present a more efficient way to evoke human feelings, inspire visual thinking and stimulate mental representations. Therefore, Tharchin’s ample usage of figures of speech in *The Tibet Mirror* could have been more understandable than employing formal language for the Tibetan readers with a relatively limited experience in reading secular newspaper texts back at the time (or, what could have also happened in case of *The Tibet Mirror*, listening to these texts read aloud by other literate Tibetans).⁶²

Tharchin did not only employ similes, *The Tibet Mirror* publications featured some interesting metaphorical examples as well. In terms of discourse, metaphors could be considered an intentional way to change the perception of discourse recipients and impose a certain metaphorical image on them.⁶³ Metaphorical descriptions work by unconscious “mapping well-understood source domains of experience onto more schematic ones”.⁶⁴ These mappings are used for arguing about target domains that are being ill understood, unclear or controversial and in order to derive “inferences, which would be otherwise not conceptually available or vague”.⁶⁵

One of the most noteworthy examples of a metaphor from the analysed issues of *The Tibet Mirror* is “the Communist Party epidemic” (*gung phran tang gi rims nad*). In *The Tibet Mirror* Vol.25 No.11 dated April 1959 Tharchin writes:

Now, in order to set free from the epidemic caused by the Communist Party that spread among all Tibetan people, all monks and layman, grown ups and young people are sacrificing their lives and are searching and will be [further] searching for the means to end that epidemic. Now, if the countries enjoying [their] independence do not help curing the epidemic, which is flourishing in

⁶⁰ Chilton P. P.61.

⁶¹ Brandes M. P.367.

⁶² See *Melong* Vol.25 No.2, June 1958 P.1 for a picture depicting a group of several Tibetans reading the newspaper (probably aloud) and surrounded by others. For English translation of the article below this picture see Engelhardt I. Tharchin’s One Man War with Mao. P.205.

⁶³ Chernyavskaya V., Molodichenko E. P.54.

⁶⁴ Chilton P. P.51-52.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.* P.52.

Tibet, this epidemic will certainly spread even in your countries.

*da lta bod kyi mi rigs tshang mar gung phran tang gis rims nad khyab pa
de las sgrol thubs su ser skya mi dmangs che 'bring tshang mas rang srog
blos btang ste rims nad med thabs byas dang byed mus su yod pa red/ da
lta bod du dar khyab che ba'i rims nad 'joms thabs su rang dbang la dga'
ba'i rgyal khyab rnam kyis grogs ram gyi sman thabs ma gnang na rims
nad 'di ni khyed tsho'i rgyal khab tu'ang rim gyis dar khyab yong nges
gtan red//.⁶⁶*

Employing the source domain of an epidemic Tharchin creates a mental representation of a rapidly spreading infectious disease among a large number of people that implicitly comes side by side with a feeling of danger and with an intention to get away and escape an exposure to the infection. Tharchin maps the 'epidemic' frame onto the 'communism' frame, therefore, creating the same inferences for the Communist Party.

This example could be also analysed in terms of the modern political discourse strategy called "modelling the alternative future".⁶⁷ Tharchin suggests a hypothetical scenario that is going to happen depending on the steps taken or not. The last sentence in this short article clearly sounds as a warning or even a threat to all foreign readers of *The Tibet Mirror* and indirectly suggests immediate action against the Communist Party, being more specific in case of Tibet, the Chinese Communist Party.

Another thing that should not be spared the attention in this article is the expression "the countries enjoying [their] independence" (*rang dbang la dga' ba'i rgyal khab*). Tharchin had repeatedly used this rather poetic expression in several other newspaper materials on Tibet's independence.

It is interesting that the same page of the same issue of *The Tibet Mirror* (Vol.25 No.11) features an article where Tharchin employs a metaphor of a sick person (*nad pa*) referring to Tibet. The article entitled "Kuomintang's Help to Tibet" (*ko min tang gis bod la grogs ram/*) reads:

If it is true that, as it is now published in different newspapers, the Kuomintang government will provide big help to Tibet and recognize its full independence, it will probably be helpful if alongside

⁶⁶ *Melong* Vol.25 No.11, April 1959. P.1.

⁶⁷ Modelling the alternative future is a political discourse strategy that addresses a discourse recipient with an alternative version of the future depending on the certain steps taken or not. Chernyavskaya V., Molodichenko E. P.108.

with the recognition of Tibet’s independence by the United Nations, there will be troops sent to the Chinese central regions. If it does not happen, what is the use of helping in words only? Similarly, although all enjoying [their] independence do a lot of talking about helping Tibet, if, in fact, [they] do not help, what is the use of the help in words only? If a sick person, who is still alive, is not treated with medicine, what is the use of regrets after he dies?

deng skabs gсар bsgyur khag tu bkod gsal/ ko min tang gzhung gis bod la grogs ram chen po byed rgyu yin/ bod rang dbang rang btsan gtsang ma yin pa khas len byed kyi yin zhes gsal ba ltar bden na ‘dzam gling rgyal spyir da lta nas bod rang btsan yin pa’i khas len khyab bsgrags dang bcas ‘phral du rgya’i sa gnas lte bar dpung ‘jug byas na phan grogs yong srid/ de ltar min na kha tsam gyis phan rogs ci la phan/ de mtshungs ‘dzam gling rang dbang la dga’ ba tshang mas kyang bod kyi ched du grogs ram kyi bka’ mol mang po brjod mus kyang / don dam du grogs ram ma byas na kha tsam gyis rogs ram ci la phan/ nad pa ma ‘chi gong sman thabs ma byas na shi ba’i rjes su ‘gyod pas ci la phan//.⁶⁸

The inferences generated of this metaphorical mapping are that of a weak Tibet, which is still alive, but on the brink of dying. The reader should be bound to understand that Tibet deserves attention and real physical help from other independent countries. Tharchin uses parallelism in the form of epistrophe “what is the use of...” (*ci la phan*) to structure the three successive sentences of the article and turns it into a rhetorical question with an implying directive of the necessity of the world’s immediate action for Tibet.

Among other rather metaphorical descriptions one can find a reference to the Tibetan guerrilla soldiers as “the Tibetan volunteer heroes” (*bod rigs dang blang dpa’ bo rnams*) who did not literally kill, but “stopped the enemies’ pulse” (*dgra bo’i snying rtsa bcad*).⁶⁹

Tharchin did not confine himself to the ‘medical’ metaphors, one can also discover metaphorical mappings based on a natural phenomenon. For instance, *The Tibet Mirror* editor writes that if the Dalai Lama loses the religious and secular power, when “the wind of protests is whirling around Tibet” (*bod du phan tshun ngo rgol rlung dmar ‘tshubs*), it is going to be very dangerous to strive for any activities on behalf of religion in Tibet and “everybody’s mind will stay in great terror” (*tshang ma’i sems ngor ‘jigs sngangs chen por gnas*).⁷⁰ Or, for example, in *The Tibet Mirror* No.1 Vol.26 Tharchin says that some Tibetans “barely escaped from raining bullets” (*me mdel char babs pa’i ‘og*

⁶⁸ *Melong* Vol.25 No.11, April 1959. P.1.

⁶⁹ *Melong* Vol.25 No.9-10, February-March 1959. P.12.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.* P.6.

nas thar tsam byung) of the Chinese communists.⁷¹ The similar inferences created in both cases could be that of something strong, spontaneous and that it is out of control of an ordinary man. Besides, such figurative additions to a news report bring some emotional strain to the narrative.

Another source domain used by Tharchin in his publications is fire. He says that “the burning fire of civil war started between the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist Party” (*ko gung gnyis kyi dbar nang 'khrug gi me 'bar bar 'go tshugs*)⁷² or that “the fire of the Tibetan uprising against communist China spread everywhere in Tibet” (*bod du rgya dmar la ngo rgol gyi dmag me rgya khyab tu mched bzhin pa red*).⁷³ Besides, intensive firing by the Chinese communist army caused turning walls of the Jokhang temple⁷⁴ into “a cave of ashes” (*mdel shugs ha cang che bas rtsig pa thal phug tu btang*) and adding a simile: later, despite the fact that it was already dark, “the whole world became lit with such a bright light as if the sun rose” (*rgya mis glog rdzas me mdel zhig 'phangs pas sa gzhi tshang ma nyi ma shar ba altar gsal*).⁷⁵

Sometimes Tharchin's narratives in *The Tibet Mirror* contain obvious exaggerations that appear in the form of hyperboles. For instance, Tharchin writes about the Panchen Lama's father that not only the Chinese communists “tortured him in unimaginable ways, [but] he was frightened almost to death” (*khong la brjod mi thub pa'i mnar spyod byas pas mi tshad ha lam bkrongs rgyu'i 'jigs res bskul 'dug*).⁷⁶ Or, for example, he says that since “the Tibetan indigenous population, religion and politics became completely destroyed and degenerated, there is not a even a name left of Tibet and Tibetan people” (*bod kyi rtsa ba'i mi rigs chos srid dang bcas pa rtsa rlags 'chal 'chol gang min du song stabs bod yul dang bod mi'i ming tsam lhag lus med par gyur*).⁷⁷

In *The Tibet Mirror* Vol.26 No.1 dated June 1959 Tharchin published a long news report based on the story of a Drepung⁷⁸ monk who had just managed to escape from Tibet after the uprising in Lhasa. One of the hyperboles used there is unending sadness: “our [local monks'] great sadness because of [the thought that] we will never

⁷¹ *Melong* Vol.26 No.1, June 1959. P.4.

⁷² *Melong* Vol.19 No.6, September 1, 1951. P.6.

⁷³ *Melong* Vol.25 No.9-10, February-March 1959. P.6.

⁷⁴ *jo khang*. A temple in Lhasa considered as one of the most sacred and important by Tibetans.

⁷⁵ *Melong* Vol.26 No.1, June 1959. P.4.

⁷⁶ *Melong* Vol.25 No.11, April 1959. P.4.

⁷⁷ *Melong* Vol.25 No.9-10, February-March 1959. P.7.

⁷⁸ *'bras spungs*. The largest monastery of the three great Gelug monasteries in Tibet.

escape from here [the monastery taken by Chinese communists] is not ending day and night (*nga tsho ni 'di nas mi thar ba'i sems sdug chen pos nyin mtshan mi 'khyol ba zhig 'dug*).⁷⁹

Among other noteworthy figurative examples in that article was parallelism. Tharchin provides a description of a torture of the manager of a monastery, who was heavily beaten by other monks “instigated to do evil” (*ngan slob mang po byas*) by the Chinese communists, after which the manager’s “whole body and head were turned red with blood” (*mgo lus tshang ma khrag gis dmar por btang*), whereas a few sentences further the abbot’s steward was beaten as well and his “whole body and head were covered with blood” too (*mgo lus tshang ma khrag gis khyab song*).⁸⁰

Tharchin’s linguistic choices in *The Tibet Mirror* could be also discussed from the point of pragmatics. Going through the publications on Tibet and China one can come across Tharchin’s usage of presuppositions. For example, in *The Tibet Mirror* Vol.18 No.1 dated October 1, 1949 Tharchin talks about “the crimes of the communist labour system” (*dmar po'i las lugs kyi nyes skyon rnams*): if [one] could have considered well the crimes of the communist labour system and if the army and people [turned] again pro-Chinese [Kuomintang] government, the communist government would not be able to last long” (*dmar po'i las lugs kyi nyes skyon rnams legs par rtogs thub pa zhig gnan na slar dpung dmag dang mi ser rnams rgya gzhung phyogs gtogs byas na dmar gzhung yun ring gnas thub kyi ma red*).⁸¹ This presupposition suggests that there are crimes of the communist regime, but what crimes exactly Tharchin meant was left for a reader to envision on his or her own.

Or, for example, in *The Tibet Mirror* Vol.25 No.9-10, while describing the start of the Tibetan uprising in Lhasa in 1959 and the reaction of the Chinese communist authorities, Tharchin says: “If communist China is a country that has culture and knowledge, it is impossible [that it] imposes such inappropriate oppression as there is now on the small religious countries such as Tibet” (*rgya dmar de dag shes rigs slob sbyong ldan pa'i rgyal khab gcig yin nal chos byed rgyal khab chung ngu bod 'dra bar de lta bu'i btsan gnon mi 'tshams pa byed mi srid*).⁸² In terms of discourse this sentence suggests the entailment that Chinese communists did not have culture and knowledge, otherwise they would not be doing what they were doing. Communist China is once

⁷⁹ *Melong* Vol.26 No.1, June 1959. P.4.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.* P.5.

⁸¹ *Melong* Vol.18 No.1, October 1, 1949. P.3.

⁸² *Melong* Vol.25 No.9-10, February-March 1959. P.12.

again portrayed as the aggressor, whereas Tibet is pictured as the victim.

The following sentence from the same publication reads: “Anyway, after the Tibetan government conducts peace negotiations with Chinese people, will not the Chinese, having listened and understood, peacefully go to their own place of residence (*gang ltar bod gzhung sogs nas rgya mi dang zhi mthun bka' mol gnang nas der rgya mis nyan shes thog zhi 'dzam rang gnas su gnas mi yong ngam/*)?”⁸³ In this sentence Tharchin constructs not only a presupposition asserting that Chinese people have their own place of residence, but also an entailment suggesting that, probably, Tibet is not a place for the Chinese.

Distancing Self from Other is frequently achieved by describing morally or legally ‘wrong’ doings by the Other.⁸⁴ One can find numerous examples of these means in *The Tibet Mirror*. For instance, in *The Tibet Mirror* Vol.25 No.9-10 Tharchin says that “alongside with taking possession and bullying Chinese communists killed and captured as many Tibetan lay people, monks, lamas and tulkus as they could, [resorting] only to coercion that disregards religion, karmic consequences and even any moral laws” (*rgya dmar gyis bdag bzung dbang gnon dang 'brel chos dang las 'bras sogs mi chos khrims lung gang la'ang mi ltos pa'i btsan shed kho nas bod rigs ser skya bla sprul khag bcas par bsad bzung gang thub*).⁸⁵ Besides, “the Chinese communist troops built fortifications with machine guns on the roofs of different Buddhist temples, which went without consent of Tibetans and against local customs” (*nang mi so so'i chos khang thod du bod mi'i blo mos yul srol dang 'gal ba'i mi sin gan sogs bzhas sa'i 'dzing rags bzos*).⁸⁶

The description of the Other disregarding the religious and cultural traditions of the Self could have hardly been done better than in the above-mentioned examples. Among other examples of Tharchin's distancing of the Other one can find the following publication from *The Tibet Mirror* Vol.26 No.1:

In seven years the leaders of the Communist Party slaughtered 20 million people, [while] 25 million people starved to death at work in China. Do the countries enjoying [their] independence know about the above-mentioned [facts]? Even if they know, but leave it [as it is] without worrying [about it], there is no certainty that soon this will not happen in your countries. Having thought of that, if [you] do not take measures to stand up against the communist re-

⁸³ *Ibid.* P.12.

⁸⁴ Chilton P. P.60.

⁸⁵ *Melong* Vol.25 No.9-10, February-March 1959. P.12.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.* P.7.

gime right now and just leave it in peace, then [you] will seriously regret about that [later]. [But] at that time it will be too late.

rgya nag tu gung phran tang gi 'go khrid pa rnam kyis lo ngo bdun nang mi grangs 2000000 tham par dmar bsad btang / mi grangs 2500000 tham par ngal rtsol byed skabs ltogs rid kyis lnga lam du gyur pa red/ gong gsal gnas tshul de dag rang dbang la dga' ba'i rgyal khabs rnam kyis mkhyen gyi yod dam/ mkhyen gyi yod rung snang dag ma gnang bar bzhag na ring min khyed rang tsho'i rgyal khab tu'ang de ltar mi 'byung ba'i nges pa med/ der bsam nas da lta nyid nas thabs shes kyis dmar lugs la ngo rgol ma byas zhi mthun kho na'i ngang du bzhag na rjes su 'gyod pa drag po skyed yong de dus phyis drag pa red do//.⁸⁷

Apart from bringing out in the open the details on the extent of the Chinese communists' wrong doings, this short article gives another example of Tharchin's strategy of modelling alternative future and sending a warning 'message' to the world. Moreover, it is interesting to compare this article with a publication from the same newspaper issue, where Tharchin writes that Tibetan "heroic soldiers killed many thousands of Chinese communists" (*dpa' dmag rnam kyis rgya dmar stong phrag du ma lnga lam du btang*).⁸⁸ Nonetheless, this killing obviously does not define them as such killers as Chinese communists.

All in all, as far as the language of *The Tibet Mirror* is concerned, news on Tibet or China alike drew a relatively gloomy picture of the Chinese communist "bandits" (*gung bran jag dmag*)⁸⁹ violating the traditional life and religious beliefs of Tibetan "heroes" (*dpa' bo rnam*)⁹⁰ or "defenders of the faith" (*bstan srung dmag*)⁹¹ or "army of gods" (*lha dmag*),⁹² whose fighting back was a righteous 'protesting' against the communist "oppression" (*btsan dbang*)⁹³ and "humiliation" (*dma' 'bebs*).⁹⁴ Tibet was "a small religious country" (*chos byed rgyal khab chung ngu*).⁹⁵ Tibetans were weak comparing to Chinese communists (*stobs che chung thug*).⁹⁶ Chinese were "enemies of the

⁸⁷ *Melong* Vol.26 No.1, June 1959. P.3.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.* P.Suppl.1.

⁸⁹ *Melong* Vol.25 No.11, April 1959. P.3.

⁹⁰ *Melong* Vol.25 No.9-10, February-March 1959. P.12.

⁹¹ *Ibid.* P.12.

⁹² *Ibid.* P.7.

⁹³ *Melong* Vol.25 No.11, April 1959. P.1.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.* P.3.

⁹⁵ *Melong* Vol.25 No.9-10, February-March 1959. P.12.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.* P.5.

faith" (*bstan dgra*).⁹⁷ Communist China was doing "massacre" (*dmar gsod*).⁹⁸ There are many more examples of Tharchin's linguistic means and strategies to render his anti-communist ideas, but this paper will go on to the next part and talk about the not less creative 'genres' found in *The Tibet Mirror*.

4. Bringing on Babu's Charisma and Creativity in Terms of 'Genres'

Tharchin used many ways to convey his ideas about the Chinese communists' "crimes", their 'unfair' politics in Tibet and Tibetans' need to 'wake up'. Apart from the above-mentioned purely linguistic means, the editor of *The Tibet Mirror* also employed quite innovative 'genres' for a newspaper, the most extraordinary and artistic of which seem to be:

1. Didactic stories, *gtam dpe* (sayings, proverbs) and *legs bshad* (aphorisms).
2. Prophecies.
3. Songs and poems.

Current paper does not aim to present the study of all these categories in depth, but instead gives an overview of the selected examples of Tharchin's figurative methods used to render his ideas and news on Tibet and China in *The Tibet Mirror* issues from 1949-1963, which could be interpreted in terms of his anti-communist or pro-Tibetan discourse.

4-1. Didactic stories, *gtam dpe*, *legs bshad*

This is a very diverse 'genre', among the examples of which one can explore sayings, proverbs, riddles, allegories and parables covering completely different topics and problems. Tharchin regularly published *gtam dpe* and *legs bshad* columns in *The Tibet Mirror*. Some *gtam dpe* were only two-three sentences long, however, some were turned into bigger didactic or allegorical stories.

Not all *gtam dpe* in *The Tibet Mirror* have a more or less clear message. A lot of publications could not be identified as discourse-charged solely based on their literary meaning and, thus, could be classified so only considering the material's location on the newspa-

⁹⁷ *Ibid.* P.6.

⁹⁸ *Melong* Vol.24 No.12, April 15, 1958. P.2.

per page, following after certain news on Tibet or China, for instance. Some *gtam dpe* sayings or stories are supplied with an explanation in the end giving an idea of the actual meaning Tharchin wanted to share with his readers, while some are finished with a mysterious question or comment at the end, such as “What is the meaning of that saying?” (*ces pa'i gtam dpe'i go don ga re red*) or “I ask everybody to think over what is the meaning of this saying” (*gtam dpe 'di'i don ga re red tshang mas dgongs bzhes yod pa zhu*). Besides, all of these figurative sayings and stories should be interpreted in close association with the date of the publication and the historical background that was known at the time. That being said, the interpretations provided further in this paper carry a speculative character and cannot qualify for the one and only option of interpretation.

One of the discourse-charged examples of *gtam dpe* is the saying published in *The Tibet Mirror* No.9 Vol.18 dated August 1, 1950 right after the news on some unrest in eastern Tibet:

If the food lost its taste, [there] is no difference [whether] a bowl is big or small. If a man lost his fierce and courageous [spirit], there are neither too few, nor too many soldiers.

*zas la nang bcud med gyur na/ phor pa che ma che khyad med/ mi la dpa' rgod med gyur na/ dmag mi mang dang ma mang med/*⁹⁹

What is the historical background of this material? As early as 1949 the atmosphere of fear spread in Lhasa.¹⁰⁰ Some aristocratic Tibetan families started to move their families and valuables to India. The first military contact between the Chinese and Tibetan armies was made in July 1950.¹⁰¹ The anticipation of the further advancement of the Chinese People's Liberation Army to Tibet was clearly in the air by August 1950, while it was just as clear that the Tibetan army forces would not be able to stand long against the People's Liberation Army. Therefore, the above-mentioned *gtam dpe* by Tharchin, perhaps, could be interpreted as a creative reproach or an attempt to cheer up the fighting spirit of Tibetans.

Tharchin was rather fond of *gtam dpe* and regularly used it to express his opinion and ideas on something, give an advice or send a message to his readers. For instance, in the *gtam dpe* in *The Tibet Mir-*

⁹⁹ *Melong* Vol.18 No.9, August 1, 1950. P.2.

¹⁰⁰ Shakya Ts. *The Dragon in the Land of Snows. A History of Modern Tibet Since 1947.* New York: Penguin Compass, 2000. P.10.

¹⁰¹ Goldstein M. *A History of Modern Tibet, 1913–1951: The Demise of the Lamaist State.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992. P.679.

ror No.5 Vol.19 dated August 1, 1951 Tharchin stresses the importance of the analysis done prior to any step taken in haste:

[One] will not catch up with a rabbit that was frightened by a splash of water. Whatever [is] done, always analyse [it] well [first].

*ri bong cal bsgrags rjes su 'brangs mi bya/ /bya ba gang la'ang rtag dpyad
legs par bya/ /.*¹⁰²

On the one hand, this didactic saying of a rather general character suggests a universal advice for anyone. On the other hand, this *gtam dpe* was published in August 1951, when the pro-Tibetan discourse formation was already actualized in *The Tibet Mirror* issues. Besides, it was placed in the newspaper after news on China and Tibetan business news. In the broadest sense in terms of Tibetan history one could interpret this material as a reference, for example, to the Tibetan government's decision to send their delegates to Beijing and the Tibetan-Chinese negotiations, which soon ended up with the 17-Point Agreement being signed between Tibet and the PRC in May 1951. Signing of the Agreement, an official document legitimizing the place of Tibet within the PRC, surely did not make Tharchin happy.

In *The Tibet Mirror* Vol.19 No.8 dated November 1, 1951 in the Tibetan news column (*bod kyi gnas tshul/*) right after a news report on a Tibetan soldier's wife being killed by a daughter of another Tibetan soldier one can read another edifying *gtam dpe*. Tharchin writes:

As it was in the [above-mentioned] example, [when one] is not able to break out externally, internal fights [happen]. I beg you all to remember that if a family got into a fight, not only [one's] inner strength certainly lessens, the strength of outsiders gets bigger. Because there is a reason to be embarrassed in front of outsiders, if one is able to set as much cordiality and solidarity in the family as one can, people will admire your happiness. Other than that people will surely come to criticize your troubles.

*phyi 'dzings ma thub nang 'dzings ces pa'i dpe ltar nang tshang 'khrug
'dzings byas na nang stobs ji zhan phyi stobs ji cher 'gyur nges pa'i mi
tshad phyi mir skyengs pa'i rgyu zhig yin gshis nang tshang mthun lam
gcig sgril gang thub gnang na rang skyid mis smon de min rang sdug mis
smad kyi gnas su gyur nges par tshang mas dgongs 'jags 'tshal/.*¹⁰³

By November 1, 1951 the Dalai Lama had formally approved of the

¹⁰² *Melong* Vol.19 No.5, August 1, 1951. P.8.

¹⁰³ *Melong* Vol.19 No.8, November 1, 1951. P.3.

17-Point Agreement and the soldiers of the Chinese People’s Liberation Army marched into Lhasa.¹⁰⁴ Predictably, the reaction of Tibetans there was controversial. This *gtam dpe* is another example of a didactic advice for Tibetans. Tharchin writes: “[When one] is not able to break out externally, internal fights [happen]” (*phyi ‘dzings ma thub nang ‘dzings*). By saying this *The Tibet Mirror’s* editor could have probably intended to imply that Tibetans were not able to express an open protest against any changes coming with the Chinese presence in Tibet, thus, their pent up frustration was causing arguments among themselves, while “the strength of outsiders” (i.e. the Others or the Chinese communist authorities in Tibet) was increasing and the Others were getting a reason to criticize Tibetans.

A bit strange and abrupt *gtam dpe* from *The Tibet Mirror* Vol.22 No.5 dated September 1, 1954 reads the following:

No England, no strategy. No America, no wealth. No France, no ornaments. No Germany, no intelligence. What is the meaning of that saying?

*dbyin med byus med// a med rgyu med// pha med mdzes rgyan med// ‘jar med shes rig med// ces pa’i gtam dpe’i go don ga re red!*¹⁰⁵

As a matter of fact, more than 70 years later for a non-Tibetan reader it is really hard to tell what the meaning of this *gtam dpe* was indeed. Tharchin published this *gtam dpe* after the news on the massive flood damage in Tibet, but it does not seem to have any connection to that. However, in the next article after this *gtam dpe* under the title “Defending South East Asia” (*shar lho e she’i srung skyobs*) Tharchin described the discussions held by the United States, Britain and France on the ways to protect the South East Asia and to “build a dam against the red flood” (*dmar po’i chu rud la chu rags rgyag*) in that region.¹⁰⁶ Thus, this *gtam dpe* was most likely related to that news piece. It is not clear what Tharchin meant by French ornaments. As for Britain and the United States of America, the statements sound more reasonable. Perhaps, in terms of the anti-communist discourse, this *gtam dpe* also carried an implication aimed at Tibetan readers and their striving against the metaphorical “red flood” in Tibet.

Another type of didactic sayings from the *gtam dpe* column in *The Tibet Mirror* No.4-5 Vol.26 dated September-October 1959 testifies to

¹⁰⁴ Shakya Ts. P.92; Goldstein M. P.812.

¹⁰⁵ *Melong* Vol.22 No.5, September 1, 1954. P.6.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.* P.7.

the fact that within the same genre Tharchin employed rather different stories in terms of style:

When the end of a rabid dog's life is near, [it] bites everything. When the end of communism is near, [communists get] busy liberating other places. Attaching fruits to the driftwood, a barren woman giving birth to a son and the communist power getting more widespread are the three signs of destroying oneself in the end.

*khyi smyon tshe zad nye ba'i dus/ / gas a ga la rmugs par byed/ / gung
bran tshe zad nye ba'i dus/ / gzhan sa rang dbang byed la brel/ / chu
shing 'bras bu btags pa dang / / mo gsham la ni bu skyes dang / / gung
bran stobs shugs rgyas pa gsum/ / tha mar rang nyid rlags rtags yin/ /*¹⁰⁷

Tharchin uses parallelism and oxymoron combinations (e.g. “a barren woman giving birth to a son”) for constructing the idea of nonsense of the further communist power dissemination and modelling the future of a near end of the communist regime. The explanation of the *gtam dpe* is provided in the additional commentary further on the page: “According to what has been said, if [you] take a look at the map at page 7, [you] will understand. Lately, because of the desire to exercise power over a little more of the territory of Outer Mongolia and many bordering [territories] with India, Pakistan and Burma, the communist state has behaved and is still behaving improperly. If [you] look at that, is it not like in the above-mentioned saying?”¹⁰⁸ Once again Tharchin is distancing the Chinese communists or the Other by saying that they are acting “improperly” (*tshul min byas dang byed mus*).

If one goes a page back, there is indeed a map with a description at the bottom: “A sign for other areas that had been brazenly asserted as belonging to communist China” (*rgya dmar gyis gzhan sa ham pas dbang 'dod kyi rtags*).¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁷ *Melong* Vol.26 No.4-5, September-October, 1959. P.8.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.* P.8.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.* P.7.

raised at the United Nations several times. After a relatively successful discussion of the Tibetan issue at the UN resulted with a resolution on the human rights violation in Tibet in October 1959, the Tibetans continued to look for another opportunity to promote a more promising resolution on the political status of Tibet.¹¹² In the summer of 1960, Thailand and Malaya suggested adding the discussion of the Tibetan question to the agenda of the 15th Session of the United Nations' General Assembly, but their motion did not get enough support from other member states of the UN.¹¹³ Using an allusion to a story about Chandrakirti's father Tharchin probably proposed that the Tibetan officials in exile had high expectations from this endeavour with the UN discussion and were already imagining a certain outcome of the 15th Session of the General Assembly of the UN, however, in reality they neither got a more effective resolution on Tibet nor anything at all.

Sometimes a *gtam dpe* took the form of an open appeal for action, for instance, in *The Tibet Mirror* No.12 Vol.27 dated December 1962 Tharchin writes:

There is nothing like happiness from [one's] freedom and suffering of being under the power of other. According to this, in order [to achieve] independence, [one] needs not only to sacrifice [his/her] possessions, but [to sacrifice] even [his/her] life. Apart from asking [you] all to serve to [your] government, furthermore do more than that.

*rang dbang lta bu'i bde ba dang // gzhan dbang lta bu'i sdug bsngal med//
ces pa ltar rang dbang gi ched du rgyu dngos ma zad rang srog kyang
blos gtong dgos so/ /tshang mas gzhung la zhabs 'degs zhu bzhin pa las
da dung lhag par zhu bar mdzed cig /.*¹¹⁴

This *gtam dpe* gives another example of Tharchin's employment of hyperboles: "there is nothing like happiness from [one's] freedom" and there is nothing like "suffering of being under the power of other". Besides, in terms of discourse, this example is noteworthy because of its open request and the instruction on what was to be done. Tharchin's appeal to Tibetans to sacrifice their lives for the independ-

Commentaries by John Myrdhin Reynolds. Ithaca, New York, USA: Snow Lion Publications, 1996. P.112.

¹¹² Garri I. R. Buddhism and Politics in the Tibetan Autonomous Region of the PRC (Second Half of the 20th Century – the Beginning of the 21st Century). Ulan-Ude: BSC SB RAS, 2009. P.112-114.

¹¹³ Shakya Ts. P.233-234.

¹¹⁴ *Melong* Vol.27 No.12, December 1962. P.10.

ence of Tibet was repeatedly reiterated on the pages of *The Tibet Mirror* throughout the 1950s – 1960s. Apart from the *gtam dpe* column, one can find examples of this appeal in the form a letter from a learned person, a song or a poem.

The genre of the short didactic saying was also represented by aphorisms or maxims (*legs shad*). The Buddhist-related *legs shad* from *The Tibet Mirror* issue No.11 Vol.24 dated March 1, 1958 seems rather complicated for a non-Buddhist reader, but is still worth mentioning:

On the tip of the horn of impure emanation I did not see the land [where] everyone was tranquil. If [one] seeks the pure ideology on the basis of compassion, [he/she] becomes the source of a land, where all sentient beings have immutable happy lives and inexhaustible perfect results, and gets a fine peaceful harvest.

*ma dag 'phrul pa'i rwa rtse'i steng / /rang gzhan bder gnas zhing sa ngas
ma mthong / /lta spyod rnam dag snying rje'i gzhir bsten nal 'gro kun tshe
rabs mi 'gyur bde ba'i zhing / /yang dag 'bras bu mi zad 'byung gzhir gnas/
/zhi bde'i ston 'bras bzang po lon par gyur/.¹¹⁵*

This short *legs bshad* was published not far from the articles on the gloomy life of people after the ‘liberation’ entitled “Independence to High-Rank and Common People” (*mi ser drag zhan dmangs la rang dbang/*)¹¹⁶ and “On Scarce Food and Clothing” (*lto gos dkon po'i skor/*).¹¹⁷ These materials were most likely covertly describing the situation in Tibet after the liberation by the People’s Liberation Army. Therefore, the potential implication of the above-mentioned maxim could have been that present Tibet filled with people’s sufferings was not governed on the basis of “pure ideology” (*lta spyod rnam dag*), but, on the contrary, was doomed by the ‘evil’ ideology spread there by Chinese communists.

Sometimes Tharchin was livening up the ordinary news reports by incorporating more well-known Tibetan proverbs and sayings. For instance, in *The Tibet Mirror* Vol. 26 No.1 dated June 1959 under the title “Rabbit Goes Back to Its Den” or, what can be also translated as, “Bride/Groom Returns Home after a Failed Marriage” (*ri bong tshang log/*) Tharchin publishes the following information:

Although the real Chinese government resides in Taiwan now, soon [they] will get back all their China’s territory. Therefore, there

¹¹⁵ *Melong* Vol.24 No.11, March 1, 1958. P.4.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.* P.3.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.* P.3-4.

are being done vast preparations to liberate soon those people, who are connected to the rabbits returning back to their den and who are going through hell on earth. ...

As it is known now from the Kuomintang newspapers, when they return to China as rabbits to [their] dens, not only [they] will grant independence according to the wishes of many Tibetans, but the Tibetan government, which went abroad now, will [also] definitely return as a rabbit to [its] den.

rgya nag gi gzhung ngo ma deng skabs da'i wan du bzhugs rung ring min rang ljongs rgya'i sa tshang ma phyir len gyis ring¹¹⁸ bong tshang log bcas de ga'i mi dmangs rnams dmyal ba mi yul du myong bzhin pa rnams la ring min bcings bkrol gnang rgyu'i sto gon chen po gnang mus su 'dug cing /

deng ko min tang gi gsar shog khag tu gsar spel ltar na/ khong tsho rgya nag tu ri bong tshang log byung mtshams bod mi mang rnams kyi 'dod mos bzhin du rang dbang sprod rgyu/ ma zad deng skabs bod gzhung phyi rgyal du phebs pa rnams kyang ri bong tshang log nges par du yong nges zhes pa'i hun/.¹¹⁹

This article was published in June 1959, just a few months after the major Tibetan uprising in Lhasa in March 1959 and the immigration of the Dalai Lama and a number of Tibetans abroad. Tharchin forecasted the future return of “the real Chinese government” (*rgya nag gi gzhung ngo ma*) to China and the return of the Tibetan government to Tibet “after a failed marriage” (*ri bong tshang log*). In terms of discourse, by calling the Kuomintang government “the real Chinese government” Tharchin created an inference that the Chinese communist government was not ‘real’, i.e. rightful. Besides, *The Tibet Mirror* editor claimed that Tibet would be granted independence “according to the wishes of many Tibetans” (*bod mi mang rnams kyi 'dod mos bzhin du rang dbang sprod*), the people who were “going through hell on earth” (*rnams dmyal ba mi yul du myong*). By mapping the metaphorical domain of hell on the life of people Tharchin constructed an image of unbearable sufferings that permeated people’s life in the PRC.

Among other artistic ways of Tharchin’s employment of Tibetan *gtam dpe* is, for instance, a material with a Tibetan proverb “What could not be done to an elder brother, could be done to his dog” (*jo la ma thub khyi la thub*), to which Tharchin gives a new meaning “What could not be done to a man, could be done to his photo” (*mi la ma thub 'dra par la thub*). The article from *The Tibet Mirror* issue Vol.26

¹¹⁸ Apparently this must be a typo and there should have been *ri bong* instead.

¹¹⁹ *Melong* Vol.26 No.1, June 1959. P. Suppl.2.

No.1 describes the Chinese communists that drew a big portrait of a respected Tibetan gentleman surrounded by other men with firearms and knives, while his wife and children were sadly crying over him.¹²⁰ This news, thus, made Tharchin coin the above-mentioned new proverb.

Apart from the short *gtam dpe* materials, Tharchin also published longer allegorical stories (*gtam* and *lo rgyus*), which are more elaborated and harder to interpret. One of the examples of a longer figurative story or *gtam* on the state of affairs in Tibet could be found in *The Tibet Mirror* Vol.19 No.8 dated November 1, 1951 under the title “A Story about an Eloquent Parrot” (*smra mkhas ne tso’i gtam/*):

During the era of degeneration there are many things that are missing. Political power without a king. Ministers without a king. Subjects without a king. Citizens without a king. Children without parents. Dharma without lamas. Disciples without teachers. End without a beginning. Servants without chiefs and so on. Out of many other items missing [I] articulated here ten.

snyigs ma’i dus su med pa rnam pa mang po yod/ rgyal po med pa’i rgyal srid/ rgyal po med pa’i blon po/ rgyal po med pa’i mnga’ zhabs/ rgyal po med pa’i mi ser/ pha ma med pa’i phru gul bla ma med pa’i dam chos/ slob dpon med pa’i slob ma/ mgo med pa’i mjug gul dpon po med pa’i g.yog po la sogs med pa’i rnam grangs mang po’i nang nas ‘dir bcu tham pa bshad pa yin no//.¹²¹

The story is constructed based on the syntactic parallelism. Tharchin placed it right after a song entitled the “New Song on People’s Liberation” (*mi dmangs bcings bkrol gyi glu gzhas gsar pa*), which ironically distorts the promises of Chinese communists to improve the life of Tibetans after the liberation.¹²² It is not plain to see what was Tharchin’s idea behind the parrot’s story, who is the parrot and why would he say that. The one thing, which is more or less clear about this example, is that Tharchin implied that “the era of degeneration” was at that very moment. As it was mentioned earlier, the biggest highlight of that time period in Tibetan history was signing of the 17-Point Agreement between the Tibetan government and the Chinese communist authorities in May 1951 and its subsequent official recog-

¹²⁰ *Ibid.* P.Suppl.3.

¹²¹ *Melong* Vol.19 No.8, November 1, 1951. P.4.

¹²² For an English translation of the song see Moskaleva N. Sketches of Contemporary Tibetan History in *The Tibet Mirror* (1949-1963). // *Revue d’Etudes Tibétaines* No.37. Ancient Currents, New Traditions: Papers Presented at the Fourth International Seminar of Young Tibetologists. Paris, 2016. P.259.

dition by the Dalai Lama in October 1951.¹²³ The 17-Point Agreement legalized the Chinese sovereignty over Tibet and provided the Chinese communist authorities with mechanisms for the gradual transformation of the traditional Tibetan social and economic system.¹²⁴ As for the “king”, the Dalai Lama was only 15, when it was decided that he was to assume the full political power in Tibet in November 1950.¹²⁵ Maybe, what Tharchin meant by this *gtam* was that in the long-term perspective signing of the 17-Point Agreement was undermining the power of the traditional Tibetan government and leading to the so to say ‘disorder’, comparing to what Tibet used to be. Perhaps, the parrot’s *gtam* had a considerably more obvious meaning for the readers of *The Tibet Mirror* back in 1951.

The second example of a longer allegorical story might seem even more complicated. It is a material from *The Tibet Mirror* issue Vol.24 No.11 dated March 1958:

For the purpose of concealing in a metaphor from communist China. Now because the leaves of the red radish could not flourish on the ground, which root do they depend on? Three red insects were eating the root of the radish. If those red insects had not been exterminated, the leaves of the radish would have never been able to develop. Who are those three red insects? Are the three red insects not the three great monastic seats? What is the red radish under the ground? Is it not the communist power? What are the leaves? Does it not seem that they are the Tibetan people? Now owing to the three great monastic seats and the Dalai Lama’s kindness the communist China’s policy of oppression in Tibet could not expand further, [one] needs to listen to that. Anyway, please investigate [that] again.

*rgya dmar nas dpe bkab don du/ da lta la phug dmar po'i lo ma rnams sa
steng du legs rgyas ma thub pas de'i rkyen rtsa gang la thug ser na/ la
phug gi rtsa bar 'bu dmar po gsum gyis zos bzhin pa red/ 'bu dmar de
tsho rtsa med ma btang na/ la phug gi lo mar 'phel rgyas nam yang
byung mi thub ces brjod 'dug na/ 'bu dmar gsum gang red/ 'bu dmar
gsum ni gdan sa chen po rnam gsum la brjod pa min nam/ sa 'og gi la
phug dmar po de gang red ser na/ gung phran stobs shugs la brjod pa min
nam/ lo ma gang red zer na/ bod kyi mi dmangs yin tshod min nam/ da
lta gdan sa chen po rnam gsum dang / gong sa mchog gi bka' drin las bod
la rgya dmar gyi btsan gnon srid jus rgya cher dar rgyas byung ma thub*

¹²³ Goldstein M. P.812.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.* P.772.

¹²⁵ Garri I. P.42.

pas der go dgos par snang / gang ltar yang rtogs zhib 'tshal/ /.¹²⁶

This story exemplifies a rather intricate image construction: the red radish is the communist power, the radish leaves are the Tibetan people and the three red insects that ate the roots of the radish are the three great Tibetan monasteries. Despite the fact that Tharchin tries to disambiguate the allegorical meaning of this story, it is still not easy to tumble to his ideas and takes time to think over what he wrote there about the radish and the bugs. By leaves of the red radish that were not able to develop Tharchin probably meant the Tibetan communists, while the overall meaning of the story was that owing to the Dalai Lama and the great Tibetan monasteries the Chinese communist authorities did not succeed in growing their communist ‘off-springs’ among the Tibetan population. Although, considering this interpretation made, it does not make much sense why the insects (i.e. the three great Tibetan monasteries) are red. Either it is simply to support the overall red colour of the allegorical picture drawn and red does not correspond to being communist in that particular case of insects, or, possibly, there is a whole different layer of meaning behind the story.

This material was published in March 1958, by that time there had already started an open confrontation between the Chinese communist authorities and the Tibetan population in eastern Tibet, which was not subjected to the articles of the 17-Point Agreement postponing the reforms. The violent suppression of the anti-reform protests in eastern Tibet, surely, concerned the Dalai Lama and by 1957 the Chinese communist authorities took a more cautious approach promising that reforms in central Tibet would be further postponed for another five to ten years.¹²⁷ By the beginning of 1958, thousands of khampas, the Tibetan population from eastern Tibet, fled to central Tibet, however, bound by the conditions of the 17-Point Agreement the Chinese communist authorities there did not take any action against them.¹²⁸ Thus, one could say in a way because of the Dalai Lama’s courtesy, “the communist China’s policy of oppression in Tibet could not expand further” (*rgy dmar gyi btsan gnon srid jus rgya cher dar rgyas byung ma thub*). Maybe, the red radish story was an allusion to these facts.

In *The Tibet Mirror* Vol.25 No.8 dated January 1959 under the title “A Story about a Frog and a Crab” (*sbal pa dang sdig srin gnyis kyi*

¹²⁶ *Melong* Vol.24 No.11, March 1, 1958. P.2.

¹²⁷ Shakya Ts. P.152, P.156.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.* P.163, 166.

gtam/) Tharchin published an allegory with no direct hints on who was who there. The story reads:

Earlier in some area there was a lake where a frog and a crab lived. When one day in the fear of inundation a lot of fish tadpoles came to the lake in that area, the frog and the crab thought that those creatures were of a different ethnic group and [said] that there was a need to drive them out. The fish tadpoles learnt about that discussion. In reality they [the frog and the crab] did not need to fight with the fish tadpoles. The frog and the crab were induced to disunity. One day the frog and the fish almost came out of the water and while [they] were fighting ashore, a fisherman came and carried away the crab and the frog. When [they] were caught in a net and carried, the anger they felt during the fighting disappeared, they hugged each other and felt regret about [their] fighting. Whatever came to their minds, they could not drive anything back, they were cut off from their beloved life. Therefore, that lake became like a homeland to the fish tadpoles. (I ask everybody to think over what is the meaning of this maxim).

sngon lung pa zhig la sbal ba dang / sdig srin zhe gcig gnas pa'i mtsho gcig yod pa red/ nyin gcig lung pa der chu rud kyi 'jigs pa byung nas nya lcong mang po mtsho de'i nang du slebs skabs sbal sdig gnyis kyi bsam par rigs su ma gcig pa'i srog chags de tsho phyir 'bud byed dgos 'dug snyam ste gros byas pa nya lcong gis gcig shes te kho tshos nya lcong la dngos su 'khrugs 'dzing ma dgos par sbal sdig dbar dben sbyor byas te nyin gcig sbal sdig phal cher chu nang nas thon te skam sar 'khrug 'dzeng byed bzhin du yod pa der nya pa zhig 'byor ba dang skabs 'khel sdog srin dang / sbal pa rnams nya pas 'dzin bzung byas te dra ba zhig nang bcug nas 'khyer 'gro skabs khong rnams 'khrug 'dzing skabs kyi khong khro de dang bral te gcig gis gcig la 'tham te 'khrug 'dzing byas pa te la 'gyod pa bskyed de ci drag snyam pa byung yang gang gis kyang bzlog tu med par khong rnams gces pa'i srog dang bral ba red/ der brten mtsho de nya lcong rnams kyi pha yul lta bur gyur pa red/ (gtam dpe 'di'i don ga re red tshang mas dgongs bzhes yod pa zhu//).¹²⁹

The allegorical story was published in January 1959. As it was mentioned earlier, by that time thousands of khampas, facing the pressure from the People's Liberation Army and seeking for safety, had crossed the border with central Tibet, the territory that was still exempted from the socialist reform program by the terms of the 17-Point Agreement.¹³⁰ However, the Lhasa Tibetans either stayed indifferent or resented the increasing number of khampas in the Tibetan

¹²⁹ *Melong* Vol.25 No.8, January 1959. P.6.

¹³⁰ Shakya Ts. P.163.

capital.¹³¹ Therefore, probably, the implication of Tharchin’s allegory should be that the arrival of Chinese communists to Tibet and the existing disagreement between Tibetans was to lead to the same outcome: eventually Tibet got occupied by the Chinese, while Tibetans had to leave their homeland and have nothing else to do except for feeling regret about their fights in the past. The *gtam* finishes with an open appeal by Tharchin: “I ask everybody to think over what is the meaning of this maxim”.

Figurative allegorical stories regularly appeared in *The Tibet Mirror*. Among other interesting examples is the story published in *The Tibet Mirror* Vol.27 No.12 dated December 1962 under the title “Owl’s Six Lies” (*‘ug pa’i rdzun gtam drug/*):

1. Earlier a man asked an owl a question: why is your head flat? The answer was: the head became flat because I asked for a lot of religious authority. 2. [The man] asked again: why is it that your ears became deaf? The answer was: because I have never heard even a syllable of religion. 3. [The man] asked again: why is it that your eyes are jaundiced? The answer was: because I usually drink only melted butter. 4. [The man] asked again: why is it that there are cracks in the cuticle of all of your claws? The answer was: because I have not seen fat with [my own] eyes. 5. [The man] asked again: why is it that your eyes can see very clearly at night? The answer was: this is the result of me making great benefits all the time. 6. [The man] asked again: how is it that you do not go outside during a day? The answer was: because I bring harm to all, there is not a place where I get out during daytime.

1 sngon mi zhig gis ‘ug pa la dris pa/ khyod kyi mgo leb leb ‘dug pa ci yin/ lan du ngas chos dang dbang mang po zhus pa mgo leb leb red song zer/ 2 yang dris pa khyod kyi rna ba ‘on pa red ‘dug pa de ci yin/ lan du ngas chos kyi sgra tshig gcig kyang thos ma myong bas yin zer/ 3 yang dris pa khyod kyi mig ser po ‘dug pa de ci yin/ lan du ngas dus rgyun du mar khu kho na ‘thung bas yin zer/ 4 yang dris pa khyod kyi sder mo kun la sen shags ‘dug pa de ci yin/ lan du ngas zhag rtsi mig gis mthong ma myong bas yin zer/ 5 yang dris pa/ khyod kyi mig des mtshan mo shin tu gsal po mthong gi ‘dug pa de ci yin/ lan du ngas kun la phan pa rgya chen po byas pa’i ‘bras bu yin zer/ 6 yang dris pa/ khyod nyin mo phyi la thon gyi mi ‘dug pa gang ying/ lan du ngas thams cad la gnod pa bskyal pa’i rkyen gyis nyin mo nga phyi la thon sa med ces lab pa red/ .¹³²

¹³¹ van Schaik S. *Tibet: a History*. New Haven – London: Yale University Press, 2011. P.227.

¹³² *Melong* Vol.27 No.12, December 1962. P.10-11.

The same story continues with an extra explanation:

The above-mentioned lies of the owl and the lies of communist China now are the same. All news that communist China reports on the radio are only lies. If [you] do not listen to them at all, it will be good. Although [if you] listen, [you] need to know that all being said [by them] that they did this and that good was [actually] bad. For example, in Tibet for those Tibetans, who were not deceived with conversations, they started using bulling by phonograph. They say on the radio: "Earlier I have drunk nothing except for black tea similar to water. [The fact] that nowadays I drink butter tea similar to soup is the gratitude to Mao Zedong". [One] needs to understand that the meaning of this is that, if earlier [Tibetans] drank butter tea similar to soup, now because of the Mao Zedong's oppression instead of tea [they] do not drink even boiled water. It is well-known to the whole world that, although communist China certainly invaded the border [territories] of the religious and peaceful Indian country, turning [it] into the Tibetan alphabet [they], similar to the owl's lies, say that because India attacked Tibetan territories, they did not do [anything] violent. However, nobody trusts this. You, friends, never become fooled with lies like this. If [you] get fooled, later [you] will regret.

*gong gsal 'ug pa'i rdzun gtam dang deng sang rgya dmar gyi rdzun gtam
gcig pa red/ rgya dmar gyis rlung 'phrin nang bshad pa'i gsar 'gyur
tshang ma rdzun gtam kho na red/ de la rtsa nas ma nyan na yag po red/
nyan rung / khos yag po 'di dang 'di byas pa yin brjod pa thsang ma sdug
po yin par mkyen dgos/ dper na bod du bod mir skad cha brdzus ma bzos
pa dbang yod kyis skad par du lab tu bcug nas/ ngas sngar ja thang chu
'dra po ma gtogs 'thungs ma myong / deng sang mar ja thug pa 'dra po
'thung gi yod pa de ma'o tshe ltungs kyi bkrin yin zhes rlung 'phrin du
shod kyi 'dug pa de'i don ni sngar mar ja thug pa 'dra po 'thung rgyu yod
kyang da na ma'o tshe ltungs kyi btsan dbang gyis ja'i tshab la chu khol
ma tsam yang 'thung rgyu med par go dgos// 'dzam gling yongs kyis shes
gsal ltar/ rgya dmar gyis rgya gar chos ldan zhi bde'i rgyal khab kyi sa
mtshams su btsan 'dzul byas nges gtan yin rung / 'ug pa'i rdzun gtam
dang mtshungs pa rgya gar gyis bod kyi sa khongs su btsan rgol byas
stabs drag las mi byed ka mad du gyur ces shod kyi 'dug rung sus kyang
yid rton byed kyi yod pa ma red/ de 'dra'i rdzun gtam la nam yang dbu
ma 'khor bar mdzod cig grogs po rnam pa tsho/ dbu 'khor na rjes su 'gyod
pa skyed yong ngo //.¹³³*

Fortunately, this allegorical story was accompanied by the explanation, therefore, there is no need to guess who was compared to the

¹³³ *Ibid.*

owl. However, Tharchin’s choice of an owl for an allegorical reference, the questions itself and the owl’s answers sound quite unusual for a modern non-Tibetan reader. Tharchin’s anti-communist rhetoric in the second part of this material is obvious: “all news that communist China reports on the radio are only lies” (*rgya dmar gyis rlung ‘phrin nang bshad pa’i gsar ‘gyur tshang ma rdzun gtam kho na red*), “it is well-known to the whole world” (*‘dzam gling yongs kyis shes gsal ltar*) that “communist China certainly invaded the border [territories] of the religious and peaceful Indian country” (*rgya dmar gyis rgya gar chos ldan zhi bde’i rgyal khab kyi sa mtshams su btsan ‘dzul byas nges gtan yin*) and, if anybody believes the Chinese communists, “later [you] will regret” (*rjes su ‘gyod pa skyed yong*). By saying “it is well-known to the whole world” Tharchin is making a bold generalization about others’ opinion, thus, gaining weight to his statement that the PRC “invaded the border [territories] of the religious and peaceful Indian country”.

If one thinks of the historical background of the “Owl’s Six Lies”, it was published in December 1962, the next month after there was declared a unilateral ceasefire in the Sino-Indian border conflict (October-November, 1962). Tharchin presents the story of this conflict as “the religious and peaceful Indian country” being “invaded” by communist China. Tsering Shakya, a Tibetan scholar, claimed that after the Dalai Lama’s flight to India the Chinese-Indian confrontation seemed inevitable.¹³⁴ Furthermore, Ts. Shakya wrote: “Throughout the early 1960s, the Chinese deployed large numbers of PLA troops” along the Chinese-Indian border “only to find that the border regions were still inadequately guarded”, while the Indian government “had established twenty-four new posts” along the same border by 1962 and “Indian attempts to push back the PLA were naturally seen by the Chinese as an act of provocation and aggression”.¹³⁵ Thus, the Chinese-Indian conflict could be hardly described in such ‘black and white’ terms picking the one who was to blame as Tharchin tried to depict it in his story.

Last but not least one should not spare the attention to “A Story about a Stupid Carpenter and Trees” (*shing mkhan blun po zhig dang shing sdong gi lo rgyus/*) published in *The Tibet Mirror* Vol.28 No.1 dated January 1963:

Once there was a stupid carpenter in a village on the territory of China. He had many children and was poor. Very tall trees with

¹³⁴ Shakya Ts. P.277.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.* P.285.

branches and leaves full of flowers and fruits grew in abundance near his house. [He] was making a living by selling those flowers and fruits. Moreover, when the sun was burning, [the trees] provided a shade and, when the wind was blowing, [they] protected against the wind. One day the stupid old father thought: "Apart from covering my house from the sunlight and protecting it against the wind, the trees are doing only harm and bring no other benefits for life. Therefore, it will be of great use to cut these trees and burn them in the fire [place] during winter". His children gathered [together], uprooted the trees and were proud [of themselves]. Then, when [they] threw the wet trees in the fire, a lot of smoke was coming [from it], so the old father told the children to finish [the burning process]. [He] said: "Even if to burn these useless trees in the fire, the food and the house are becoming black in my own eyes, thus, whatever you do with them, they are useless and are really [our] enemies". They all agreed and destroyed the logs by throwing them in the water. After that, having also lost their means of livelihood, he and his family suffered a lot.

sngon tsi na'i yul du grong gseb cig na shing mkhan blun po zhag yod pa red/ kho'i nang la zla¹³⁶ mi bu phrug sogs mang la dbul zhing 'phongs pa zhis yod pa red/ kho'i khang pa'i 'gram na shing¹³⁷ sdong ha cang che la yal 'bad rgyas shing me tog dang 'bras bus gang pa zhis yod cing / de'i me tog dang 'bras bu sogs btson nas lto gos 'tshol gyi yod pa red/ gzhan yang nyi mas 'tshig dus bsil grib byin pa dang / rlung po rgyag dus rlung rten sogs des byed kyi yod pa red/ nyin gcig pha rgan blun po de'i bsam pa la shing sdong 'das nga'i khang par nyi 'od 'gribs pa dang rlung po bkag pa sogs gnod kho na bskyel ba las 'tsho phan la de tsam mi phan pas/ de las shing¹³⁸ sdong 'di bcad nas dgun kha me la bud na phan che snyam nas kho'i bu phrug rnams 'dus nas shing sdong 'di rtsa bkog btang nas nga rgyal chen po byas pa red/ de nas shing sdong rlon pa me la bud tshe du ba mang po thon pas/ yang pha rgan des bu phrug tshar smras pa/ shing sdong phan med 'di me la bud na'ang kho bo'i mig la zan pa dang khang pa yang nag po bzo gin 'dug pas/ 'di ni gang byas kyang mkho med nga tsho'i dgra rang red ces brjod nas/ kho tsho tshang ma mnyam du mthun nas shing dum rnams chu la bskyer nas med par bzos pa red/ de rjes kho pha ma bu phrug tsho'i 'tsho rten yang rlags nas sdug bsngal mang po myang dgos byung ba red/¹³⁹

The allegorical story tells a reader about a carpenter who made a wrong decision and brought his whole life down to ashes alongside

¹³⁶ The syllable *zla* is not clearly printed and is reconstructed by the author of the paper.

¹³⁷ The syllable *shing* is written as *shang* which must have been a typo.

¹³⁸ The syllable *shing* is written as *shang* which must have been a typo.

¹³⁹ *Melong* Vol.28 No.1, January 1963. P.4.

with his family members’ lives. Once again Tharchin, fortunately, provides a reader with a second paragraph that explains the story’s meaning and the basis for his comparison:

As in that example, Chinese communists destroyed their old traditional religion, culture, power and wealth. Moreover, although due to the Great Leap Forward socialism progress showed the unprecedented well-being existence, in reality [Chinese communists are] as that stupid carpenter, instead of doing good to the development of their own region and the fundamental rights of their citizens, [they] brought only harm by destruction. At present, because of the hunger and poverty of people residing in Mainland China, not only there are many deaths, but also, if to look at the actual situation, year by year the state economy, the well-being and the freedom are deteriorating and do not show even a slight progress. [The Chinese communists’] political power will not be able to stay strong for a long time. If we compare the earlier and the present situation in Tibet, it is like a day and a night, like being full with food and being hungry, like paradise and hell. Soon he will do the work of destroying even himself.

*dpe de bzhin rgya dmar gung bran nas kyang / rang gi rgyal khab kyi
sngar srol bzang po'i chos dang shes rig mnga' thang dpal 'byor rnam
rtsa rlags btang nas/ da dung spyi tshogs ring lugs kyi yar rgyas mdun
mchong chen pos sngar na ma grags pa'i bde skyid yod tshul bstan rung /
don dam shing mkhan blun po de nang bzhin rang gi lung par yar rgyas
dang mi ser gyi thob dbang bde rtsa bcas par phan pa'i tshab tu gnod
gyur gtor rlags kho na btang nas da lta rgya nag skam sa chen por gnas
pa'i mi dmangs rnam kyi 'tsho ba tha zhan pas ltogs pas shi skyon byung
ba mang ba ma zad/ lo re nas lo le rgyal khab kyi dpal 'byor/ bde skyid/
rang dbang tshang ma ji nyams ji rgud du 'gro ba las yar rgyas spu tsam
med pa'i gnas thsul bden 'brel la bltas na kho'i srid dbang yun ring sra
brtan thub kyi ma red/ bod la cha bzhag na sngon dang da lta'i gnas tshul
gnyis ni nyin mo dang mtshan mol 'grangs ba dang ltogs pa/ lha yul
dang dmyal khams mtshungs par btang ba red/ ring min kho rang yang
phung pa'i las ka kho rang gis byed kyi yod pa red//.¹⁴⁰*

One could only wonder why Tharchin did not provide a short explanation for each of his figurative pieces in *The Tibet Mirror*. It would have been so useful now. Tharchin presented a rather sullen picture of the life in the PRC and the ‘evil’ Chinese communists there or the Other. “Year by year the state economy, the well-being and the freedom are deteriorating and do not show even a slight progress” (*lo re nas lo le rgyal khab kyi dpal 'byor/ bde skyid/ rang dbang tshang ma ji*

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

nyams ji rgud du 'gro ba las yar rgyas spu tsam med), while the Other "instead of doing good ... only brought harm by destruction" (*phan pa'i tshab tu gnod gyur gtor rlags kho na btang*). Apart from this, Tharchin is again using the strategy of modelling the future by playing the role of a prophet predicting that "[the Chinese communists'] political power will not be able to stay strong for a long time" (*kho'i srid dbang yun ring sra brtan thub kyi ma red*) and that "soon he will do the work of destroying even himself" (*ring min kho rang yang phung pa'i las ka kho rang gis byed kyi yod pa red*). It is interesting that Tharchin wrote "he". Who was "he" exactly? Was he Mao Zedong? While describing the changes in Tibet, Tharchin uses an antithesis to draw a sharp line between the old and the present Tibet: "it is like a day and a night, like being full with food and being hungry, like paradise and hell" (*nyin mo dang mtshan mol 'grangs ba dang ltogs pal lha yul dang dmyal khams mtshungs par btang ba red*).

One should also notice that in the allegorical part of the story Tharchin wrote that a carpenter lived in China, but at the same time instead of a traditional Tibetan expression "*rgya nag*" standing for "China" or "*rgya dmar*" standing for "communist China" he employed a different term "*tsi na*", which most obviously resembles the English word "China".

4-2. Prophecies

Tharchin did not limit himself to the allegorical stories and proverbs. As another creative example of his innovative way to conduct the anti-communist discourse in *The Tibet Mirror* one can explore the prophecy 'genre'. For instance, a material entitled "An Old Mongol Makes a Prophecy" (*sog po mi rgan zhig gis lung bstan bshad 'dug/*) from *The Tibet Mirror* Vol.20 No.9 dated December 1, 1952:

Approximately 40 years ago several prophecies were made. "The Chinese will cause a lot of suffering in Outer Mongolia. In order to do that communist Russia will oppress Outer Mongolia. Communism will gradually spread throughout all China. Then there will come the time, when the religious Tibetan country will be also coercively seized by communism. However, for example, in the religious Tibetan land it will be for a short time. Because it is like solar and lunar eclipses and because from then on the communist power will be certainly getting weaker and weaker, in particular starting from the year of the dragon. In the year of the snake the great war will begin throughout the whole world and forces of the followers of the communist enemies of Buddha's teaching will be completely destroyed. In the year, when they collapse, the truce will come about. In the year of the monkey, according to the good old traditions, a

new ruler will be appointed in every country and the sun of happiness will rise throughout the whole world”, – the prophecy said. Many [things] from [it] have come true. Will not the rest come true as well? The prophecy recently made in Japan and the Mongolian prophecy are approximately the same.

deng nas ha lam lo ngo bzhi bcu tham pa'i sngon du lung bstan kha shas bshad 'dug pa 'di lta ste/ rgya mis phyi sog la sdug po gtong ba dang / de'i rkyen gyis u dmar gyis phyi sog btsan dbang byed pa dang / rim pas rgya nag yongs su dmar po'i lam lugs dar ba dang / de nas bod chos ldan gyi ljongs su yang btsan dbang gyis dmar pos 'dzin thabs byed pa zhig gi dus bsleb yong / 'on kyang bod chos ldan gyi zhing du bslebs pa de ni yud tсам dper na/ nyi zla gzas 'dzin pa ltar yin gshis/ de nas bzung dmar po'i dbang thang je zhan je zhan du 'gyur nges gshis/ khyad par du 'brug gi lo nas 'go brtsams te sbrul gyi lor 'dzam gling yongs su dmag chen lang nas bstan dgra dmar lugs kyi rjes 'brang pa'i stobs shugs rtsa med du gtong ba dang / lug gi lor 'dzam gling du dmag thag chod cing / sprel gyi lor 'dzam gling rgyal khag so sor sngar srol bzang po'i lam lugs ltar rang rang ljongs su rgyal po gsar bskos bgyis te 'dzam gling yongs su bde skyid kyi nyi ma 'char ba zhig yong gi red ches lung bstan bshad 'dug pa las mang po bsgrubs 'dug cing da dung yang bsgrub mi yong ngam/ da lam ri gling du bshad pa'i lung bstan dang sog yul gyi lung bstan ha lam gcig pa 'dra po 'dug go/.¹⁴¹

This prophecy was published in *The Tibet Mirror* issue dated December 1, 1952. It was written that the prophecy had been made about 40 years ago, i.e. around 1912. Tharchin's attempt to bring up the content of that prophecy once again in 1952, probably, signifies that he thought it was still well timed for the present moment. According to the traditional Tibetan calendar, December 1, 1952 was still the year of the dragon, but soon to be succeeded by the year of the snake. The year of the monkey was coming in 1956. Therefore, the possible meaning behind this prophecy publication is that in 1953 “the great war” (*dmag chen*) against the communist forces was supposed to start, while by 1956 the communists would be completely defeated and there would be a new world order. At the time of the publication there was an ongoing war in Korea and, perhaps, Tharchin hoped that it would enlarge its scope and the anti-communist struggle would engross the entire world.

Besides an attempt to model the future (e.g. “the communist power will be certainly getting weaker and weaker”, “the great war will begin throughout the whole world”, “forces of the followers of the communist enemies of Buddha's teaching will be completely de-

¹⁴¹ *Melong* Vol.20 No.9, December 1, 1952. P.5.

stroyed”), this prophecy employs the discourse strategy of a precedent extrapolation,¹⁴² which is based on the assumption that if some things from the prophecy came true, “will not the rest come true as well?”

In terms of figurative means, the prophecy is noteworthy for the metaphor “the sun of happiness will rise throughout the whole world” (*‘dzam gling yongs su bde skyid kyi nyi ma ‘char ba zhig yong gi red*) that is mapping the happiness from the victory over communists to the sun rising and bringing the light, which is illuminating the whole world. Among other means one should not omit the simile comparing the spreading of communist power to something temporary just “like solar and lunar eclipses” (*nyi zla gzas ‘dzin pa ltar*) and epithets “the religious Tibetan land” (*bod chos ldan gyi zhing*) and “the good old traditions” (*sngar srol bzang po’i lam lugs*) that were being endangered by the “communist enemies of Buddha’s teaching” (*bstan dgra dmar lugs kyi rjes’brang pa*).

Another interesting prophecy entitled “Oracle” was published in *The Tibet Mirror* Vol.28 No.3 dated February-March 1963 both in Tibetan and in English. The English version of the prophecy reads the following:

I pay my respects, as to the Crown, to Munindra (i.e. the Buddha). The karma-result of all the beings in the world, including the long-suffering people in the middle of the Himalayas, is indeed wonderful! My Padmapani’s (i.e. the Dalai Lama’s) light (i.e. compassion) has spread all over the world and the effect of the truth will soon be clearly revealed. The main thing is that all the monks and laymen should meditate on the oath (of unity) as being on the top of their head (i.e. should earnestly bear it in mind). They must abandon their separate parties and create one strong (united) party. The position of the East Red Pig (i.e. Mao Tse Tung) will not last long, but will vanish like a rainbow. Then a change will take place, and the Pig’s harvest will be devoured by the Dog. The angry Tiger of the South is lying on the border. After a time the great storm of delusion will come, so don’t believe it. The Snake and the Frog of the West will advance and withdraw in various ways. They don’t see that they themselves will be ruined. The Cobra of the North is stretching out two tongues. It is somewhat dangerous to all beings. The sufferings of our Chintamani of the Himalayas (i.e. the Dalai Lama) will become clear like the sun.¹⁴³

¹⁴² The precedent extrapolation is a political discourse strategy that builds on the implication that a fact A from the past will inevitably cause a certain fact B in the hypothetical future. Chernyavskaya V., Molodichenko E. P.112.

¹⁴³ *Melong* Vol.28 No.3, February-March, 1963. P.4.

This prophecy was not written by Tharchin himself, the stated author is somebody named Tashi. However, the English translation and the disambiguation of Tashi’s acting characters (Munindra, Padmapani, the Pig) should have been done by Tharchin. It is clear from the text that Tibetans are the “long-suffering people in the middle of the Himalayas”, whose karmic result is “indeed wonderful”. It is also clear who is called the Pig. However, it is hard to say who was the Dog, the Cobra of the North, the Tiger of the South, the Snake or the Frog of the West. It is also a mystery what kind of “Pig’s harvest” was going to be devoured by the Dog and what are the “two tongues” that “the Cobra of the North is stretching out”.

This prophecy is also noteworthy for some examples of the figurative language. The metaphorical naming of the Dalai Lama as “the Chintamani of the Himalayas”, which compares him to the Buddhist wish fulfilling jewel. The similes: the position of Mao Zedong, which “will not last long, but will vanish like a rainbow” and the sufferings of the Dalai Lama that “will become clear like the sun”.

4-3. Songs and Poems

Provocative rebellious songs and poems constitute another figurative venue of Tharchin’s anti-communist discourse. Most of the songs are composed based on the syntactic parallelism. Some of the songs are clear in their meaning, whereas the message of some is entirely figurative and not so obvious. In *The Tibet Mirror* Vol.19 No.5 dated August 1, 1951 Tharchin publishes a new song from Lhasa:

Beijing government threw the nine-eyed sling braided with soft wool. [It] went into the Lhasa government. The Lhasa government Kashag [was] sycophantic. Peaceful and white it is numb on the outside. Guided by fierceness and red inside. Numb in the power [they have]. Guided by the power [they] do not have. Whether [it] is peaceful and white or fierce and red, look at the wheel turning!

*'jam po'i bal gyis sles pa'i/ 'ur rdo chu mig dgu sgril/ pe cing gzhung nas rgyab pas//lha ldan gzhung la babs song / lha ldan gzhung gi bka' shag /rdo la ngo 'dzin gnang dang / zhi dkar phyi la spid nas/ drag dmar nang la khrid byung / yod pa'i dbang gis spid nas/ med pa'i dbang gis khrid byung //zhi dkar drag dmar yod med/ 'khor lo 'khor la gzigs dang / zhes pa'i gzhas gsar pa deng lha sar len gyi yod pa'i gnas tshul thos//.*¹⁴⁴

¹⁴⁴ *Melong* Vol.19 No.5, August 1, 1951. P.5.

Although the song, probably, ironically refers to the policy of cooperation with Tibetan officials adopted by the Chinese communist authorities after signing of the 17-Point Agreement, it is still not clear why there was used the metaphorical “nine-eyed sling” and what was it exactly? Could that have been the metaphorical intrigues of the Chinese communist authorities in Tibet?

In *The Tibet Mirror* Vol.20 No.2-3 dated May-June 1952 Tharchin suggests to have a look at the song he heard, however, in the end he asks to investigate if it was true:

Although the liberation reached Tibet, the pride was not broken down. Although Panchen Lama came to Tibet, [he was] not asked to give blessings. Having left yellow mushrooms on the meadow, [one] does not want to eat white mushrooms. Having put aside both religious and secular power, it is not time to ask for the liberation. Stand up! Stand up! Stand up! Brothers of the six clans,¹⁴⁵ it is necessary to sacrifice your lives and freedom and to make a wall out of your bodies! Brothers of the six clans, do not be faint hearted. In order to protect your own homeland, it is necessary to strike unanimously. Even if [you] die, [it is] for the cause of religious teaching. Even if [you] are defeated, [it is] for the cause of religious teaching. Whether dead or defeated, [you] do not want to be under the [power of] others. It is time to perform a miracle. It is time to show the wits of a learned person. It is time to show the courage of young people. Do not forget. Do not forget. Tibetans. The history of the Water-Bird year. Tibetan brothers. A year. A year. A year. Defeated. Defeated. Defeated. The army of misleading spirits. Win. Win. Win. Joyfully win.

*bcings bkrol bod la bslebs kyang / / lta ba chag gi ma red/ /paN chen bod
la phebs kyang // phyag dbang zhu gi ma red/ /ser sha spang la bzhas nas/
/dkar sha za 'dod mi 'dug /chos srid gnyis ldan bzhas nas/ /bcings bkrol
zhu long mi 'dug /longs shog longs shog longs shog / gdungs drug gi
spun zla rnams/ /rang srog rang btsan 'ben btsugs/ /rang lus lcags ri
rgyag dgos/ /gdungs drug gi spun rigs tsho/ /snying stobs chung chung
ma byed/ /rang tsho'i pha yul srung ched/ /gcig mthun 'debs lang byed
dgos/ /'chi yang bstan pa'i don red/ /'pham yang bstan pa'i don red/ /'chi
'pham ga la thug kyang / /gzhan gyi 'og la ma 'dod/ /grub pa'i grub rtags
ston ran/ /mkhas pa'i blo rcal ston ran/ /gzhon pa'i dpa' rtsal ston ran/
/ma brjed ma brjed bod rigs/ /chu bya lo yi rgyal rabs/ /bod rigs kyi spun
zla rnams/ /rgyal lo rgyal lo rgyal lo/ /'pham 'pham 'pham log 'dren*

¹⁴⁵ The six original Tibetan clans. According to the myths, there were four or six ancestral Tibetan clans from which the indigenous Tibetan clans later derived. Kapstein M. T. *The Tibetans*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2006. P.34-35.

*dpung / rgyal rgyal rgyal dga' ldan rgyal.*¹⁴⁶

The most mysterious part of the song is about the yellow and white mushrooms: “Having left yellow mushrooms on the meadow, [one] does not want to eat white mushrooms” (*ser sha spang la bzhang nas / dkar sha za 'dod mi 'dug*). It is hard to perceive the metaphor of these mushrooms. As for the rest, there is once again the appeal to Tibetans to stand up for Tibet and the Buddhist teaching, to be brave, to “strike unanimously” (*gcig mthun 'debs lang byed dgos*) and to sacrifice their life in order to protect their homeland (*rang tsho'i pha yul srung ched*). The Water-Bird year mentioned in the song could refer to the year that started on December 28, 1932 and ended on December 18, 1933. In the previous Water-Monkey year the 13th Dalai Lama made an important political testament warning Tibetans about the dangers awaiting them in the future if they did not listen to him and the 13th Dalai Lama died in the Water-Bird year.¹⁴⁷ However, there is no obvious connection between those facts and the song in general, therefore, it is not clear why the song called not to forget that year.

In *The Tibet Mirror* Vol.23 No.10 dated October 5, 1956 Tharchin publishes a similar song entitled the “Song of Freedom” (*rang dbang gi glu/*) and written by “a learned person” (*mkhyen ldan zhig nas*):

Stand up! People of their own homes and their own desires, having firmly bunched the iron fists, raise [them] up to the sky. Being able to stand the abuse of the Chinese communist power, now are not likely to bear [any more] suffering. Stand up! Stand up! Brothers of the six clans, stand up with [your] flesh and blood for the happiness of independence! Stand up! People that do not want to be servants of the foreigners, waive happily from beneath the national flags as it was earlier. Fat-footed corvee labour [system] now seems to have no limit. Stand up! Stand up! Brothers of the six clans, stand up with [your] flesh and blood for the happiness of independence! Stand up! People [that have] the status of animals, unite by the unshakable flesh and blood oath. Servants of the foreigners, which do not have time to escape, now are not likely to do [it]. Stand up! Stand up! The six clans XXX stand up! Stand up! The tsampa eaters, people of ten million bloods, unite your minds. Having experienced the immense massacre of bullying by now. Stand up! Stand up! Brothers of the six clans, stand up with [your] flesh and blood for the happiness of independence!

yar lo longs shog rang khyim rang 'dod kyi mi rnam/ /chig sgril dam pos

¹⁴⁶ *Melong* Vol.20 No.2-3, May-June 1952. P.8.

¹⁴⁷ Goldstein M. P.141-142.

lcags kyi khu tshur gnam la 'phyar/ /krung btsan dmar po'i brnyas bzod da ni khur tshod med// longs shog longs shog mi'u gdung drug gi spun zla tsho/ /rang btsan gyi bde skyid sha dang khrag gis longs shog/ yar la longs shog phyi g.yog mi 'dod pa'i mi rnams/ /rgyal dar dga' ba g.yas 'khyil 'og nas sngon la 'gro / tshil rkang gi 'u lag da ni rgyugs tshod med// longs shog longs shog mi'u gdung drug gi spun zla tsho/ /rang btsan gyi bde skyid sha dang khrag gis longs shog/ yar longs shog dud 'gro'i go gnas kyi mi rnams/ /sha dang khrag gi rdo rje'i dam tshig chig tu sgril/ /thar dus med pa'i phyi g.yog da ni rgyag tshod med/ /longs shog longs shog mi'u gdung drug gi XXX longs shog /yar longs shog tsam pa za mkhan gyi mi rnams/ /bye ba khrag gi mi rnams blo sems chig tu sgril/ /thub tshod btang ba'i dmar bsad da ni myong tshod med do/ /longs shog longs shog mi'u gdung drug gi spun zla tsho/ /rang btsan gyi bde skyid sha dang khrag gis longs shog /.¹⁴⁸

There are a lot of different materials in *The Tibet Mirror* published with a title “from a learned person”. The “Song of Freedom” is sharper in its expressions than the songs mentioned earlier, but it is devoted to the same appeal to stand up for Tibet. The calling for Tibetans to stand up “with flesh and blood for the happiness of independence” (*rang btsan gyi bde skyid sha dang khrag gis longs shog*) is repeated three times within the same song. The instruction given in the song is straightforward: “having firmly bunched the iron fists, raise [them] up to the sky” (*chig sgril dam pos lcags kyi khu tshur gnam la 'phyar*), “as it was earlier waive happily from beneath the national flags” (*rgyal dar dga' ba g.yas 'khyil 'og nas sngon la 'gro*), “unite by the unshakable flesh and blood oath” (*sha dang khrag gi rdo rje'i dam tshig chig tu sgril*), “unite your minds” (*blo sems chig tu sgril*) and “stand up with [your] flesh and blood” (*sha dang khrag gis longs shog*).

The theme of the need for Tibetan “brothers” (*spun zla tsho*) to stand up was reiterated in the majority of songs published in *The Tibet Mirror*. For example, in *The Tibet Mirror* Vol.24 No.11 dated March 1, 1958 in the “Song about the Joy of Tibetan Independence” (*bod rang dbang la dga' ba'i glu gzhas*) Tharchin once again publishes a call for “brothers from the Tibetan region” (*bod ljongs kyi spun zla rnams*) to “stand up united by the strong desire” (*gdungs shugs gcig bsgril gyis longs shog*) and to “stand up with flesh and blood for the joy of independence” (*rang btsan gyi bde skyid sha dang khrag gis longs shog*).¹⁴⁹

In *The Tibet Mirror* Vol. 28 No. 3 dated February-March 1963 under the title “CURRENT SONG” in English with an addition in parentheses “Published in January issue is Reprinted again here below with

¹⁴⁸ *Melong* Vol.23 No.10, October 5, 1956. P.4.

¹⁴⁹ *Melong* Vol.24 No.11, March 1, 1958. P.1.

its English translation” Tharchin places a song in Tibetan followed by an English translation after it. The English translation reads the following:

Like the summer flood that roars
 Came the plundering Chinese in great force
 On this peace-loving Indian soil,
 Suddenly they made an aggression,
 The Chinese themselves proposed disarmament,
 And they themselves have in the end withdrawn.
 At first, like a mad tiger came the Red Chinese,
 Wandering about in the jungles of NEFA.¹⁵⁰
 Secondly, like a thieving dog
 Hiding his tail between his legs he fled.
 Thinking a lump of red-hot iron was flesh
 He got angry and wanted to gobble it up.
 But alas! He burnt his mouth, tongue and throat
 And had to leave it just as it was
 Above the mud-covered firepit.
 With great pride he slapped his thighs,
 Yet how much could he show his strength?
 Now, no more alive, he shall be finished.
 This is our India, the peace-loving country,
 With all other states one in purity.
 Oh now, our countrymen, with courage
 Defend your soil, and come with staves.
 Many other friendly countries
 Contributing arms and weapons
 One after another came.
 Having ‘proved’ their baseless claim to the border
 They created trouble about the order,
 Wanting to be the master of India –
 Is it going mad, that Red China?
 Though the jackal boasts of having grown red fur
 Yet it should not despise the sleeping lion.
 Well, now it will be not long
 Before your life is doomed.
 Hail! to the leader, our Prime Minister,
 Under his skill, with wisdom and bravery
 Rejoice, for a day will surely rise
 When the Red Chinese will be nicely fried.
 India, our peace-loving country,

¹⁵⁰ The North-East Frontier Agency (NEFA), formerly known as the North-East Frontier Tracts, was one of the political divisions in British India and later the Republic of India within the State of Assam. Since 1972 it was part of the Arunachal Pradesh state.

Shall always remain in peace and freedom
 With all other friendly nations.
 May glorious victory be to INDIA.¹⁵¹

The song sounds really harsh and vitriolic towards the PRC (e.g. the PRC is called a “mad tiger” and a “thieving dog” that is “no more alive” and “shall be finished”; “Is it going mad, that Red China?”; “a day will surely rise when the Red Chinese will be nicely fried”). But one should keep in mind that this song was first published in *The Tibet Mirror* in January 1963, while, as it was mentioned earlier, the Sino-Indian border conflict had just ended in November 1962. Thus, the hostility must have probably been still very thick in the air.

Apart from the rebel-spirited songs, Tharchin also published other poetical pieces aimed at either humiliating Chinese communists or bringing up the national spirit of Tibetans in his newspaper. For example, in *The Tibet Mirror* Vol.26 No.1 dated June 1959 under the title “World’s Liberation” (*dzam gling bcing dkrol*) Tharchin publishes the following article:

According to one newspaper, ever since the establishment of the Communist Party rule in Beijing [the Chinese communists] in China dug into all coffins of [their] ancestors, emperors and local chieftains of the oath time and took out from there precious things and priceless goods from the earlier time of the good era. Nowadays [these things] are sent to make houses, strong manufacture machinery, military equipment, etc. [Chinese communists] will soon make efforts to liberate the whole world. These are the news heard.

Having taken out the real corpses, [they] plunder the surviving [ones].

[They] cut [their] own throats and get weapons.

[They] say the world needs to be liberated.

Having intoxicated with arrogant pride, [they go] mad.

*gsar 'gyur zhig nang gsal/ pe cin du gung bran tang gis dbang bsgyur
 bgyis pa nas bzung / rgya nag tu mna' bo'i dus kyi pha mes rnam dang
 gong ma dang dpon khag gi dur sgam ji yod rnam bsngogs shig gis de'i
 nang sngar bskal pa bzang po'i dus kyi dngos rigs rtsa chen rin thang
 bral ba'i dngos rdzas blugs yod pa rnam bton nas/ deng khang khyim
 dang bzo 'phrul 'khor lo shugs chen dang / dmag chas sogs bzo sgrub bya
 rgyu'i 'gro song du btang ste ring min 'dzam gling yongs la bcing dkrol
 gtong thabs la 'bad kyi yod pa red ces gsal 'dug pa'i gnas tshul//
 ro dngos bton nas gson dngos bcom/*

¹⁵¹ *Melong* Vol.28 No.3, February-March 1963. P.4-5.

*rang ske gcod byed mtshon cha sgrub/ /
 'dzam gling bcing dkrol gtong dgos zer/ /
 nga rgyal dregs pas bzi zhing smyo/ /.*¹⁵²

It is interesting that Tharchin does not indicate the exact source of the information he published, therefore, leaving a chance that this poem could have been written by *The Tibet Mirror* editor himself. As in most of the previous examples Chinese communists are once again portrayed as the evil Other crossing the line and engaging in the morally wrong doings.

For another peculiar example of a poem one can take a look at *The Tibet Mirror* Vol.28 No.1 dated January 1963. Tharchin publishes there a didactic poem about the good and the evil referring to communist China and Tibet. The poem is based on the syntactic parallelism and is quite simple in style:

The ultimate [form] of righteousness becomes the victorious.
 The ultimate [form] of lying becomes a defeat.
 The result of good deeds turns into tranquillity.
 The result of nonvirtuous deeds turns into suffering.
 The good finally becomes the victorious.
 The evil finally becomes destruction.
 Even if a learned person is defeated, in the end [he/she] will win.
 Even if a stupid person wins, in the end he will be defeated.
 Even if Communist China wins, in the end it will be defeated.
 Even if religious work is defeated, in the end it will win.

*bden pa'i mthar thug rgyal bar 'gyur//
 brdzun gyi mthar thug pham par 'gyur//
 dge ba'i 'bras bub de bar 'gyur//
 mi dge'i 'bras bu sdug bsngal 'gyur//
 bzang po mtha' mar rgyal bar 'gyur//
 ngan pa mtha' mar phung bar 'gyur//
 mkhas pa pham yang mtha' mar rgyal//
 blun po rgyal yang mtha' mar pham//
 rgya dmar rgyal yang mtha' mar pham//
 dkar phyogs pham yang mtha' mar rgyal//.*¹⁵³

The poem ends with an appeal: “I ask all to serve well to [your] government!” (*tshang mas gzhung gi zhabs 'degs legs par zhus shig /*).¹⁵⁴

Talking about poems and the anti-communist rhetoric in *The Tibet*

¹⁵² *Melong* Vol.26 No.1, June 1959. P.5.

¹⁵³ *Melong* Vol.28 No.1, January 1963. P.4.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

Mirror one should not forget mentioning the acrostics. For example, in *The Tibet Mirror* Vol.24 No.12 dated April 1958 Tharchin publishes an acrostic entitled "From a Learned Person" (*mkyen ldan zhig nas*), which is divided into two parts. The first part of the acrostic is written in reverse alphabetical order and starts with *a*, the last letter of Tibetan alphabet:

a Oh! Communist chiefs,
ha Do not frightfully bully!
sa This Tibetan capital on the earth
sha [Stop] selling [it] because [you] do not love [it]
la And buying and calculating some [things] stop, okay!
ra Like putting goats and sheep in the slaughterhouse,
ya How pitiful is this strange massacre!
'a Besides using relationships to carelessly do evil,
za Did not know how to cause difficulties to get a bribe.
zha Those blind male and female [ones] from the highest stratum of the aristocracy
wa Are running in zigzags like foxes after communist China.
dza Reckless behaviour filled the world to the brim,
tsha While seeing hot and cold sufferings,
tza As a partridge insist.
ma Having malevolently gently deceived,
ba Spread out a cobweb on all, upper and lower.
pha Besides separating families apart,
pa Fathers get imprisoned by sons and grandsons,
na When [they] rise in age, [they] are put into deep holes.
da [You] still make a lot of discussions,
tha In the end [you] do only massacre.
ta Tathāgata's religious teaching
nya As if a fish is taken out on the plain.
ja Owing to tea, beer and money Buddhism is lost.
cha Spreading out newspapers without a style,
ca [You] do only idle talking at [your] own wish.
nga "Except for myself there is nobody else", –
ga [You] broadcast everywhere.
kha Not a single action squared with [your] words,
ka [You] learners of the alphabet and writing.

a a tsis gung phran dpon 'go tsho/ /
ha ha las thub tshod ma gtong zhig/ /
sa sa steng bod kyi rgyal sa 'di/ /
sha sha tsha med pas 'tshong rgyu dang / /
la la las nyo rtsis zhog cig ang / /
ra ra lug bshas rar tshud pa ltar/ /
ya ya mtshan dmar gsod ya re nga / /
'a 'a 'ur ngan byas ngo 'khyer thog /
za za sems byas pa ma shes pa'i/ /

zha zha ra mi drag pho mo 'gas/ /
 wa wa ltar rgya dmar rjes su rgyugs/ /
 dza dza lang spyod pas 'dzam gling bkang / /
 tsha tsha grang sdug bsngal mthong bzhin du/ /
 tsa tsa ko ra ltar u tshugs byed/ /
 ma ma rung khog bcug 'jam bslus kyis//
 ba ba thag stod smad kun la bkram/ /
 pha pha ma bu phrug kha 'phral thog /
 pa pa pha btson 'jug bu tshas btang / /
 na na so rgas na dong du bcug/ /
 da da dung skad cha mang po 'dri/ /
 tha tha ma dmar gsod kho na byed/ /
 ta ta thA ga ta'i bstan pa la/ /
 nya nya mo thang la bton pa ltar/ /
 ja ja chang dngul gyis rgyal bstan brlag /
 cha cha lugs med pa'i tshags par bkram//
 ca ca co rang 'dod sha stag bshad/ /
 nga nga rang ma gtogs med do zhes/ /
 ga ga sa ga la rgyang sgrags btang / /
 kha kha don gcig kyang ma mtshungs pa/ /
 ka ka kha yi ge slob khag byas/ /.¹⁵⁵

The second part of the acrostic continues in the right alphabetical order starting with *ka*, *kha*, *ga*, etc. and ending with the line starting with letter *a*. The acrostic does not seem to sound as smooth as an ordinary poem or song, which is probably the result of the necessity to find a certain rhyme and meaning depending on the first letter, which starts each following line. However, one could only applaud the ability of the 'learned' author to render his anti-Communist feelings and ideas throughout such a long and demanding poem. It is not known who was the mysterious "learned person" that contributed to *The Tibet Mirror* with anti-communist materials, but there is a possibility that it could have been Tharchin himself.

Conclusion

These were some of the peculiar examples of Tharchin's news reporting and self-expression in *The Tibet Mirror*. To sum up, while browsing through *The Tibet Mirror* publications on Tibet and China from 1949-1963 one can find numerous figurative means of expression not only in terms of language (metaphors, hyperboles, oxymorons, similes), but also in terms of 'genres' (songs, poems, prophecies, sayings and maxims). Tharchin's style of writing arouses a number of ques-

¹⁵⁵ *Melong* Vol.24 No.12, April 15, 1958. P.2.

tions, which, however, could hardly have a concrete answer.

First of all, why would Tharchin go into trouble creating such elaborated unusual publications instead of ordinary news reports? An artistic touch to rendering information in *The Tibet Mirror* has a multidimensional perspective. Allegories are useful for putting forward the author's political or moral point of view. Tharchin's publications stand for something larger in meaning than what they literary stand for. Tharchin's publications create certain images. Tharchin's figurative approach was an efficient way to affect the information perception, awaken the readers' imagination and provoke the desired emotional response. Most images created by Tharchin were vivid and vibrant. Not only Tibetans practically any reader could relate and develop some sympathy to the pictures drawn in *The Tibet Mirror* by the editor. Besides, black and white categories of good and evil, happiness and grief, truth and false often used by Tharchin for rendering news in *The Tibet Mirror* employed less formal language and were more intelligible for an ordinary reader, who could later repeat an allegorical story or an ironical song to others.

Secondly, what images did Tharchin construct after all? Tharchin was passionately trying to stir up the Tibetan social thought by depicting the alleged morally and legally wrong doings by Chinese communists against common people in the form of songs, poems and regular news reports with creative twists. *The Tibet Mirror* editor strived to create the impressive solid images of the Chinese communist aggressors, once independent and to be independent in the future Tibet and the somewhat homogeneous Tibetan population spread across the Tibetan Plateau, but united by traditional Tibetan culture, Buddhism and the desire to stand up for the independence of Tibet.

Thirdly, it is not clear to which extent Tharchin was inspired by the British newspapers and other sources of information and whether his extraordinary news rendering creativity was a matter of a voluntary choice or a necessary measure adopted to bypass the censorship.

Nevertheless, despite some ambiguous aspects of Tharchin's personality and his side activities, Kalimpong's geographical location and Tharchin's working mode involving regular communication with live informants certainly add value to *The Tibet Mirror* as an additional source on modern Tibetan history.

Bibliography

Berry S. Monks, Spies, and Soldiers of Fortune. The Japanese in Tibet. London: Athlone Press, 1995. P.265. Op. cit. Sawerthal A.

- The Melong. An Example of the Formation of a Tibetan Language Press. M.Phil. Thesis, University of Vienna, 2011.
- Brandes M.P. Text Stylistics. Theoretical Course: Textbook. Moscow: Progress-Tradition and Infra-M, 2004.
- Chernyavskaya V. E., Molodichenko E. N. History in Political Discourse: Linguistic Construction of Us and Them. Moscow: Lenand, 2014.
- Chilton P. Analysing Political Discourse: Theory and Practice. London and New York: Routledge, 2004.
- Engelhardt I. Tharchin's One Man War with Mao. // Studies on the History and Literature of Tibet and the Himalaya. Ed. Vitali R. Katmandu: Vajra Books, 2012. P.183-212.
- Engelhardt I. Tharchin's *Tibet Mirror*: A Christian Oriented Newspaper? // Historical and Philological Studies of China's Western Regions, No.6. Beijing: Science Press, 2013. P.129-155.
- Erhard F. X. Tibetan Mass Media: A Preliminary Survey of Tibetan Language Newspapers // The Illuminating Mirror. Contributions to Tibetan Studies. Vol.12. Ed. Czaja O. and Hazod G. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 2015. P. 155-171.
- Fader H. L. Called from Obscurity: the Life and Times of a True Son of Tibet Gergan Dorje Tharchin. Vol. I. Kalimpong: Tibet Mirror Press, 2002.
- Fader H.L. Called from Obscurity: the Life and Times of a True Son of Tibet Gergan Dorje Tharchin. Vol. II. Kalimpong: Tibet Mirror Press, 2004.
- Fader H.L. Called from Obscurity: the Life and Times of a True Son of Tibet Gergan Dorje Tharchin. Vol. III. Kalimpong: Tibet Mirror Press, 2009.
- Garri I. R. Buddhism and Politics in the Tibetan Autonomous Region of the PRC (Second Half of the 20th Century – the Beginning of the 21st Century). Ulan-Ude: BSC SB RAS, 2009.
- Goldstein M. A History of Modern Tibet, 1913–1951: The Demise of the Lamaist State. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992.
- Kapstein M. T. The Tibetans. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2006.
- McGranahan C. Arrested Histories: Between Empire and Exile in 20th Century Tibet. PhD Thesis. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan, 2001.
- Melong* (*Yul phyogs so so'i gsar 'gyur me long* or *The Tibet Mirror*). Kalimpong: edited by Dorje Tharchin, 1925–1963. Electronic reproduction. New York: Columbia University Libraries, 2009. Accessed February 26, 2018. <http://www.columbia.edu/cu/lweb/digital/collections/cu1/texts/ldpd/698164300/>

- Moskaleva N. Sketches of Contemporary Tibetan History in The Tibet Mirror (1949-1963). // *Revue d'Etudes Tibétaines* No.37. Ancient Currents, New Traditions: Papers Presented at the Fourth International Seminar of Young Tibetologists. Paris, 2016. P.247-261.
- Norbu D. Introduction. // *Called from Obscurity: the Life and Times of a True Son of Tibet Gergan Dorje Tharchin*. Vol. I. Kalimpong: Tibet Mirror Press, 2002. P.XI-XII.
- Norbu D. Pioneer and Patriot. An Extract from an Interview with Rev. G. Tharchin. // *Lungta*, No. 11 (Winter 1998). P.11-12.
- Sawerthal A. The Melong. An Example of the Formation of a Tibetan Language Press. M.Phil. Thesis, University of Vienna, 2011.
- Shakya Ts. The Dragon in the Land of Snows. A History of Modern Tibet Since 1947. New York: Penguin Compass, 2000.
- Tharchin's personal letters. // Sikkim, Political Officer, 1947-1963; Tharchin Collection; series #2, box #3, folder #5; C.V. Starr East Asian Library, Columbia University.
- The Golden Letters. The Three Statements of Garab Dorje, the first teacher of Dzogchen, together with a commentary by Dza Patrul Rinpoche, entitled "The Special Teaching of the Wise and Glorious King". Translation, Introduction and Commentaries by John Myrdhin Reynolds. Ithaca, New York, USA: Snow Lion Publications, 1996.
- van Schaik S. Tibet: a History. New Haven – London: Yale University Press, 2011.

